Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Russia Said Not Affected by Crash of British Bank

LD2802153995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1502 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (FIA-Interfax)—Although Britain's Barings Investment Bank is involved in a number of Russian projects, the financial trouble it ran into at the end of this month is not expected to tell significantly on the Russian market, a senior British bank representative in Moscow told the Financial Information Agency on Tuesday [28 February].

He said the Barings crash was caused by a thoughtless policy carried out by the manager of its Singapore branch who lost more than $1 billion in futures operations on the Tokyo stock market.

Ernst & Young international auditors have been instructed to work out a plan of how to resolve the crisis either by putting Barings up for sale or by attracting credits to keep it afloat.

The British banker said that by all accounts, Barings does not appear to have made large investments in Russia or used its assets. He did not rule out that the bank had used the resources of Western pension funds, which will not affect the Russian investment projects.

Barings Securities of the Barings Group announced plans last week to float a package of shares of the Severskoy pipe manufacturers (Sverdlovsk Region) in European markets, officials of the First Voucher Investment Fund, holding 11.8%of company shares, told FIA on Tuesday.

Latvian Defense Minister on Baltic Cooperation

LD2802163895 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Baltic states' defense ministers signed a package of documents on future mutual cooperation between the defense ministries of the three states in Lithuania yesterday. [Latvian] Defense Minister Janis Arveds Trapans told reporters at a news conference today how cooperation will develop:

[Begin Trapans recording] There is one document of understanding on how the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian defense ministries will cooperate in the future in defense and military relations. And (?we) will directly cooperate at the level of the headquarters and of defense ministers.

Then follows the second [document]—a plan of cooperation, which lists spheres of future cooperation. They, well, [include] a meeting of the defense ministers, [words indistinct] a meeting between the commanders of the national armed forces, and [word indistinct] a meeting of secretaries of state.

The third document was a joint letter which states that we are in practice founding a group, called an international advisory group on security. That is a group of Western military advisors headed by General Sir Garry Johnson. We are inviting these people; they will come to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia from Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and the United States. They will come here and next year they will organize many different activities. This is an issue of cooperation. I do not understand at all why sometimes there immediately emerges from ITAR-TASS or other representatives of our eastern neighbor such alarm, such sharp voices, the kind which is reminiscent of military blocs. There is currently only one military bloc in Europe, and that bloc is NATO. All the armed forces of Latvia and the Baltic states are defensive [words indistinct]. We are defending ourselves. We are not threatening anyone. [end recording]

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CIS Unified Air Defense Agreement

MM2802114295 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 95 First Edition p 5

[Agreement on the Creation of a Unified Air Defense System for the CIS States"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline from the "Economic Union" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The CIS states, having signed this agreement and referred to hereinafter as the "member states," guided by the CIS security principles, basing themselves on the Decision on the CIS Heads of State Council's Memorandum "Basic Guidelines for the Integrated Development of the CIS" and the long-term plan for the integrated development of the CIS of 21 October 1994, and proceeding on the basis of the need to pool their efforts on the member states' air defense and the protection of their airspace borders, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The member states shall create a unified air defense system for the CIS member states.

The unified air defense shall include member state air defense forces and means (some forces and means) operating on the basis of a coordinated plan and carrying out the tasks envisaged under Article 2 of this agreement.

The principles underlying the formulation and implementation of the unified air defense system's missions shall be determined by the Statute on the CIS Member States' Unified Air Defense System, which is part and parcel of this agreement.

Article 2

The unified air defense system shall be set up to resolve the following tasks:

- Ensuring the protection of the airspace of the member states' state borders;
- Implementing joint monitoring of the procedure governing the utilization of the member states' airspace;
- Informing member states about the aerospace situation and providing warnings of missile or airborne attack;
- Conducting coordinated actions by the member states' air defense troops to repulse airborne or missile attack.

Article 3

With a view to coordinating efforts to create and improve a unified air defense system and to coordinate the actions of unified air defense system troops and forces, a Coordinating Committee for Air Defense Issues shall be set up under the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council (hereinafter, the Coordinating Committee).

The commander in chief of the Russian Federation Air Defense Troops shall be chairman of the Coordinating Committee.

Members of the Coordinating Committee shall include the commanders of the member states' air defense troops (air defense and air force) as well as, at the decision of the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council, the deputy chairman of the Coordinating Committee and other officials.

The statute on the Coordinating Committee shall be ratified by the CIS member states' Defense Ministers Council.

Article 4

The member states shall ensure the constant combat readiness of the troops and forces allocated to the unified air defense system, and their actions in carrying out their joint air defense missions.

The procedure for cooperation between unified air defense system forces and means shall be laid down by the plan elaborated by the Coordinating Committee in conjunction with the CIS member states' Military Cooperation Coordination Headquarters, taking account of the plans for the utilization of member states' air defense (air defense and air force) forces and means; the plan for cooperation between unified air defense system forces and means shall be ratified by the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council.

Direct command and control of the air defense (air defense and air force) troops and forces of each member state shall be exercised by the commanders of those states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops taking account of the plan for cooperation between unified air defense system forces and means.

The coordination of the actions of unified air defense system forces and means shall be implemented from the Russian Federation Air Defense Troops Central Command Post.

Article 5

Some of the unified air defense system forces and means shall be on permanent combat standby protecting the airborne borders of the member states on the basis of the plan for cooperation between unified air defense system forces and means.

Command and control of the unified air defense system's standby forces and means shall be exercised from member states' air defense (air defense and air force) command posts while their actions shall be coordinated from the Russian Federation Air Defense Troops Central Command Post.

Article 6

Air defense armaments and military hardware shall be supplied on the basis of bilateral agreements between the member states' governments, while repairs of air defense armaments and military hardware shall be effected under the procedure laid down by the CIS Heads of Government Council.

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The member states pledge not to sell and not to transfer to other states which are not party to this agreement air defense armaments and military hardware defined on the list ratified by the CIS Heads of Government Council on the basis of the proposal from the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council, nor to divulge information constituting member state military secrets.

Article 7

The training of military specialists for unified air defense system forces and means shall be effected on the basis of bilateral agreements between the member state governments.

Article 8

This agreement is open to other states to join with the consent of all the member states.

Article 9

Each member state is entitled to withdraw from this agreement once the relevant written notification has been sent to the depositary. As far as this member state is concerned, the agreement lapses one year from the receipt of notification by the depositary.

Article 10

The agreement of 6 July 1992 on the air defense system shall be deemed to have lapsed.

Article 11

This agreement comes into force from the day it is signed.

Done in the city of Almaty 10 February 1995 in a single copy in Russian. The original [podlinny ekzemplyar] shall be held in the Belarusian Government archives, which will send a certified copy to each signatory state.

Appendix to the Agreement

Statute on the CIS Member States' Unified Air Defense System

1. The CIS member states' unified air defense system shall be set up with a view to protecting the member states' air borders, monitoring the procedure governing the utilization of airspace, providing warning of a threatened or incipient airborne or space attack, and protecting the member states' most important installations from air strikes.

2. The unified air defense system unites the member states' forces and means for the joint resolution of missions in the interests of all member states.

The air defense forces and means of each member state resolve missions to provide air defense for their territories independently and in conjunction with the air defense troops of adjoining member states.

3. The coordinated resolution of tasks in the interests of the air defense of all member states' is based on the following principles:

- The use of troops and forces under the member states' plans and the coordinated plan for cooperation in the interests of all the member states' air defenses;
- The equipping of the member states' air defense troops with armaments and military hardware on the basis of the agreed military- technical policy;
- The collaboration of unified air defense system forces and means where state borders intersect, and also in the member states' airspace;
- The centralization of notification and command and control of unified air defense system forces and means by the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops and the Russian Federation Air Defense Troops Central Command Post;
- The unity of the main requirements for combat readiness and the combat and operational training of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) command and control organs and troops.

4. The joint actions of the member states' air defense forces and means are coordinated by the chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Air Defense Issues through the commanders of the member states air defense (air defense and air force) troops.

5. In order to organize cooperation, representatives of the chairman of the Coordinating Committee and the CIS member states' Military Coordination Headquarters can be sent to air defense (air defense and air force) troops headquarters by agreement with the relevant defense minister.

6. In his activity the chairman of the Coordinating Committee is guided by the decisions of the Heads of State Council and the Defense Ministers' Council of the CIS members, as well as by the agreement on the creation of the CIS states' unified air defense system.

7. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee has a deputy ratified by the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council on the basis of representations from the Coordinating Committee.

8. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee is obliged to:

- Coordinate joint operations by unified air defense system forces and means;
- Organize in conjunction with the commanders of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops the elaboration of the plan for cooperation between unified air defense system forces and means and submit it for ratification to the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council;
- Inform the commanders of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops about the aerospace situation, the integrated unified air defense system network, and unified cooperation signals;

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- Elaborate in conjunction with the commanders of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops proposals and recommendations for the further development and enhancement of the combat readiness of unified air defense system forces and means, equipping them with armaments and military hardware;
- Elaborate in conjunction with the commanders of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops a plan for the holding of joint operational exercises (training sessions) for the member states' air defenses, as well as training and methodology sessions, and submit it for ratification by the CIS member states' Defense Ministers' Council (funding for the measures envisaged under the plan shall be provided by the states taking part in it).

9. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee is responsible for organizing cooperation between the member states' air defense forces and means.

10. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee is entitled:

- To inform the member states' heads of state and defense ministers about the progress of operational and combat training, and the combat standby condition of the forces and means allocated to the unified air defense system;
- To take part, by agreement with the member states' defense ministers, in monitoring the progress of operational and combat training and the state of readiness of standby forces and means allocated to the unified air defense system, including those involving the use of performance-grading intercept targets;
- To make recommendations to the commanders of the member states' air defense (air defense and air force) troops on questions of the combat use of the troops in the event of a threatened air attack or the threat of intrusion to the member states' airspace, as well as on questions of the organization of combat standby duty;
- To make annual recommendations on the questions of improving combat standby duty, cooperation, combat and operational training, and the assimilation of new military equipment by the troops allocated to the unified air defense system;
- To coordinate the training of air defense specialists in the interests of the unified air defense system;
- To establish a procedure for mutual information on the actions of unified air defense system standby forces and means.

11. Leadership of the unified air defense system and cooperation is carried out in Russian.

Note

The Republic of Azerbaijan did not sign the Concept for the Collective Security of the States Party to the Collective Security Treaty, or the Agreement on the Creation of a Unified Air Defense System for the CIS Member States.

The Republic of Moldova did not sign the Agreement on the Creation of a Unified Air Defense System.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 1 Mar

LD0103083595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0517 GMT 1 Mar 95

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Today's Russian newspapers continue to concentrate on the Chechen situation. The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper runs the theses of a speech by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev at a conference of Russian military leaders which opened in Moscow on Tuesday [28 February].

The meeting is fully devoted to the assessment of actions by federal troops in the conflict zone. Examining in detail preparations, progress and results of the operation, Grachev drew the conclusion that "the united army group has fully fulfilled the set task".

At the same time, Grachev pointed to "a low level of combat preparedness of land forces units and poor training of privates and non-commissioned officers to operate under urban conditions".

In the opinion of Vyacheslav Zherebtsov, chief of the Mobilisation Department of the Russian General Staff, actions by federal troops in Chechnya were a factor showing the efficiency of his department.

In an interview with the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the general pointed to the difficult situation with recruiting personnel for the armed forces. According to Zherebtsov's information, "the numerical strength of land troops and the Navy dropped below 50 per cent for the first time in the autumn of 1993 and early in 1994".

Zherebtsov regards "unjustifiably great numbers of deferments and releases from military service for some groups of citizens" as the main reason for the present situation.

The Russian Government regards "restoration of the economy and the social sphere in the Chechen republic" as a top priority task of ministries and departments at the present stage. The RUSSKAYA GAZETA newspaper runs a government decision on this issue.

The ROSSIYKIYE VESTI newspaper front-pages information that there will be no "spring offensive" by trade unions, scheduled for March 1. In the opinion of V. Budko, chairman of the Russian coal miners' trade union, colliery workers whose strike shocked the entire country early in February agreed to a compromise, since the government met most of their demands.

"Only the threat of a strike made authorities find money and pay last year's wage delays to miners," says another article in the newspaper on the same topic.

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"Statements by the Russian public on Tuesday in defence of chairman of the Russian press committee Sergey Gryzunov avidently brought results," NEZVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. Referring to "reliable sources in the Kremlin", the daily reports that President Yeltsin told Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin on Tuesday not to sack Gryzunov.

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper believes that the next few days will show whether Gryzunov will retain his post. However, in the newspaper's opinion, "the gist of the matter is in something else. The main thing is that authorities showed for the umpteenth time: The helm should be in the hands of docile bureaucrats rather than competent specialists".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to the Novosti News Agency where he sums up the results of the recent Minsk visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Russia and Belarus have practically built an economic union which could be a basis for the unification of the two states in future," the newspaper writes.

The daily points to "the characteristic identity of positions taken by Minsk and Moscow on the very important foreign policy question for the two countries—prospects for NATO expansion to the east, which is regarded by Yeltsin and Lukashenka as a factor destabilising the situation on the continent and, therefore, unacceptable".

Commenting on the emerging trend for rapprochement between the two countries, Lukashenka agreed that "the syndrome of independence at any cost", which is observed in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, has been overcome by Belarus.

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Islamic Terrorist in Suicide Attack on Consulate in Rabat

LD2802135895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1338 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rabat, 28 Feb—An Islamic terrorist committed a terrorist act today at the consular department of the Russian Embassy in Morocco. In the guise of a visitor, the "kamikadze" fighter entered the premises of the Russian Consulate in Rabat and detonated a home-made bomb which was fastened to his body. As a result of the explosion he was killed while there were no injuries among the embassy staff. The building was damaged.

The Moroccan authorities are conducting an inquiry. According to preliminary information, the terrorist was an Egyptian. A small poster was found on his body on which the word "Chechnya" was written in Arabic.

Zhirinovskiy Ends Visit to Iraq, Promises To Restore Ties

LD0103100595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0907 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 1 Mar—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), who was in Baghdad at the head of his party's representative delegation, concluded his visit on Tuesday [28 February] evening.

At the final news conference Zhirinovskiy said the results of his meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn were "very good". The LDPR leader once again said he and his party now had "a fine chance" to win the next parliamentary and presidential elections in Russia. In the event of his victory, Zhirinovskiy promised "to restore immediately direct cooperation with Iraq."

According to Zhirinovskiy, his party opposes the economic blockade of Iraq and advocates the immediate lifting of all UN sanctions imposed on Baghdad by the decision of the Security Council. The LDPR leader sharply criticized the United Nations and its policy, suggesting that the UN Charter should be "changed drastically."

Military Cooperation Accord Signed With FRY

LD2802182395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1805 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Pavle Bulatovic and Pavel Grachev, defense ministers of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of Russia, signed an agreement on military cooperation between the two countries in the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow this evening.

The agreement, the details of which have not not disclosed to journalists, will come into effect after the lifting of the sanctions imposed by the international community against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Ministers Bulatovic and Grachev expressed their satisfaction with the agreement.

Minister Bulatovic, who is on an official visit to Russia, held talks this afternoon with Vladimir Shumeyko, president of the Upper Chamber of the Russian parliament. The collocutors pointed out the need for the sanctions against Yugoslavia to be lifted.

Shumeyko stressed that his country will actively work in that direction. He said that "it is unacceptable that the sanctions against Belgrade are still in place, while at the same time Belgrade is under pressure to solve the conflict."

Shumeyko also said that the parliamentary Security and Defense Committee is preparing a document on Russian peace forces in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and on the situation in the region. On the basis of that document the parliament's Upper Chamber can advocate the lifting of the sanctions, Shumeyko stressed.

Minister Bulatovic said that it is paradoxical that Yugoslavia should be under sanctions although it is not directly involved in the conflict. According to him, the key to the conflict is not only in Belgrade's hands, so pressure on Yugoslavia cannot solve the conflict.

Minister Bulatovic will end his visit to Russia tomorrow.

French Official: Kozyrev Supports Serb-Croat-Bosnian Summit

LD2802195595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikita Yermakov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris February 28 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has supported the French idea of a Serb-Croat-Bosnian summit on settlement in former Yugoslavia, an official representative of the French Foreign Ministry said here today commenting on a telephone conversation of Andrey Kozyrev and his French counterpart Alain Juppe.

The French initiative aims to lift international embargo against Serbia in exchange to mutual recognition of the three former Yugoslav republics. Serb President Slobodan Milosevic has been against this prospect.

In the words of the French representative, the Russian foreign minister reaffirmed Moscow support to efforts for settlement in former Yugoslavia.

Kozyrev, Bulatovic Concur on Resolution of Yugoslav Crisis

AU2802173895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 95

[Report by Jasmina Pavlovic Stamenic from Moscow]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow and Belgrade believe that there is no alternative to a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and that everything should be done to eliminate the lingering danger of new military clashes, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in the talks with FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic in Moscow today.

Kozyrev believes that the lifting of sanctions is an obligation and also a promise that the international community, primarily the Contact Group and the UN Security Council, failed to keep toward Belgrade. Moscow advocates that the sanctions be lifted as quickly as possible and that such a decision be implemented in practice because Belgrade has proven that it deserves it.

It is of particular importance to Moscow that Belgrade and President Milosevic champion a peace-loving policy and the Contact Group peace plan. Belgrade is the main factor, a pillar of support, as Kozyrev said, that maintains Moscow in the belief that a peaceful resolution of the crisis is possible, especially, as the Russian foreign minister concluded, because Moscow and Belgrade both reject the military option as a method to resolve problems.

During the talks in the Russian Foreign Ministry, FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic reminded that the key to the resolution of the crisis does not lie in the hands of Belgrade and President Milosevic alone. Had this been the case, Bulatovic emphasized, Yugoslavia would have restored peace a long time ago. Yugoslavia supports any just and political solution that would be acceptable to the three peoples on the territories of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, Bulatovic emphasized in the talks with Kozyrev, if the question of sanctions is linked and made conditional on the recognition of the secessionist republics, then everything is reverting to the initial question of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

This morning, Pavle Bulatovic laid a wraith on the grave of the unknown soldier in the Kremlin. The Russian and FRY defense ministers, Pavel Grachev and Pavle Bulatovic, will ceremonially sign an agreement on military and technical cooperation—which will become effective with the date of the lifting of sanctions—in the FRY Embassy in Moscow this evening.

Discuss Solutions to FRY Conflict

LD2802172095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Russia are in favor of a peaceful solution to the conflict in the area of the former Yugoslavia and oppose military solutions to this conflict, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said today during the course of his talks with the Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic.

The talks were almost totally focused on the conflict in the area of the former Yugoslavia and possibilities for its solution. The Russian minister stressed that his country attached a great deal of significance to its relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kozyrev noted that he had recently held talks with President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic. In his words, these talks were constructive and focused on restoring peace.

The Russian minister stated that now prospects were opening up for the contact group's activities and an overall solution to the conflict, including mutual recognition between Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav republics.

It is particularly important, Kozyrev said, that the Yugoslav leadership and the Serbian president support the contact group plan. In his view, this is also the most important reason to lift sanctions.

Kozyrev also said that the contact group and the UN Security Council had not fulfilled their part of the job—they have not fulfilled their part of the obligations—referring to the lifting of sanctions.

Belgrade is the main factor in solving the conflict while both Yugoslavia and Russia agree that the conflict can only be resolved peacefully, Kozyrev said.

In the talks Bulatovic stressed that the role of Yugoslavia and of the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in resolving the conflict should not be exaggerated. If peace depended on them alone, it would have been reached a long time ago, Bulatovic said.

Bulatovic expressed the fear that there were other reasons why the sanctions had not yet been lifted. Yugoslavia supports any just political solution to the conflict in Bosnia providing it is fair to all three peoples.

Linking the issue of sanctions to the recognition of the secessionist Yugoslav republics, means going back to where we were when former Yugoslavia began to disintegrate, Bulatovic said.

After the talks the Yugoslav defense minister told Yugoslav journalists that he had exchanged with Kozyrev views on the situation in former Yugoslavia, and in Bosnia in particular.

Bulatovic stressed that Yugoslavia had met all the conditions for the lifting of the sanctions a long time ago but that the international community had failed to fulfill its obligations, i.e. to lift the sanctions.

Bulatovic said he hoped that through its efforts the contact group would prevent any further conflicts either in the Republic of Serb Krajina or on Prevlaka.

This morning the Yugoslav defense minister laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in the Kremlin.

Bulatovic is expected to have meetings with Ivan Rybkin and Vladimir Shumeyko, speakers of the two parliamentary chambers, later today. This evening Bulatovic and

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Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev will sign an agreement on military cooperation, to come into force once the sanctions have been lifted.

Grachev Urges Speediest Lifting of FRY Sanctions

MM0103103195 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 95 p 1

[Report by Sergey Sidorov: "Talks at the Russian Defense Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] have signed an agreement on military cooperation, but in connection with the UN Security Council sanctions against the FRY the agreement's enactment will be deferred until after these have been lifted. So said Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, at the close of his talks with FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, who has in Moscow on a three- day official visit.

During a conversation with journalists Pavel Grachev noted that he advocates the speediest lifting of the sanctions since the FRY has fulfilled the terms for their abrogation and is now a factor for peace in the Balkans. Yugoslavia is our long-standing partner, he said, and we are hoping for close cooperation in all spheres.

During the talks the ministers also discussed matters pertaining to the situation in the Balkans and its possible consequences for European security and exchanged views on the possible ways of settling the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Army Gen. Grachev briefed his Yugoslav counterpart on the relations developing between Russia and NATO and also on the situation in Chechnya and heard the Yugoslav side's ideas regarding Russia's future participation in the peacemaking in the former Yugoslavia.

Pavle Bulatovic had a meeting Tuesday [28 February] with Russian State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, and Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko.

Kozyrev, Grachev Discuss FRY Peace Settlement

LD2802164295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: reports by our diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—Moscow and Belgrade see no other alternative to a peace settlement on the problems faced by former Yugoslavia, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in Moscow on Tuesday meeting with Defense Minister of the Union Republic of Yugoslavia Pavle Bulatovic.

At the same time, said Kozyrev, he agrees with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who on Monday [27 February], meeting with Bulatovic, said that there is still the threat of the resumption of hostilities in what is left of Yugoslavia. "Much work should be done to prevent this threat," said Kozyrev.

He once again favored the lifting of international sanctions from the Union Republic of Yugoslavia. "The UN Security Council and the Contact Group owe Belgrade," he said.

The Minister said that "the support by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for the Contact Group's peace plan is the main basis for lifting sanctions from Belgrade." "I am sure that the UN Security Council and the international Contact Group have not fulfilled their part of commitments," said Kozyrev.

He said that Moscow is interested in developing military-technical cooperation with Belgrade. "We have already prepared a program for such cooperation, but to implement it, it is necessary to lift the sanctions from Union Republic of Yugoslavia," said the Minister.

Kozyrev Meets FRY's Bulatovic, Urges Lifting Sanctions

LD2802124595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1216 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—The Bosnia Contact Group and the UN Security Council "owe" it to Russia to lift sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This was stated today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev during a meeting with Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic.

"The firm backing of a plan for a peaceful settlement recently voiced by President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia," Andrey Kozyrev said, "provides grounds for lifting the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia." Kozyrev believes that the Contact Group and the Security Council have not yet fulfilled "their part of the work," all the more so in that "it is now already a question of tackling a broader range of issues," including mutual recognition of the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

"A programme of full-scale cooperation between the Russian Federation and the FRY in the military and military-technical spheres is currently also ready," Kozyrev said.

The Russian minister said that Russia is fulfilling its obligations to the international community, as Moscow's efforts in support of the Contact Group plan testify. Kozyrev also singled out the fact that Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic and FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic found a possibility to meet with representatives of the Contact Group. "Belgrade remains

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the chief factor toward a peaceful settlement of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia," Andrey Kozyrev said.

He stressed that there is no way of resolving the problems other than by peaceful means. "Both Moscow and Belgrade unambiguously reject the military alternative of settling the crisis," he declared.

Shumeyko: UN Sanctions on FRY 'Intolerable'

LD2802182095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—The sanctions against Yugoslavia make it impossible for Russia to develop economic and political ties with the countries of the region, Russian Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko told journalists following his meeting in Moscow Tuesday [28 February] with the Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavel Bulatovic.

In Shumeyko's words, "Yugoslavia was and is a fraternal state with which Russia has to be friends and develop relations."

Shumeyko called for the lifting of international sanctions against Belgrade. He believes that the situation in which Belgrade is told to settle the conflict in the neighboring Bosnia but sanctions remain in place is intolerable.

Gennadiy Talalayev, deputy head of the Federation Council's (Russian senate) press center, told Interfax that Shumeyko had undertaken to use his influence to have the sanctions lifted at the meeting.

On his part, Bulatovic said it was a paradox that sanctions were imposed against his country, which is not directly involved in the Bosnian conflict.

He argued that Belgrade did not hold all the keys to the Bosnian settlement and so the pressure brought to bear on Belgrade could not resolve the conflict, but could trigger a crisis in the Union Republic of Yugoslavia.

Shumeyko: Russia To Follow Own Principles in FRY

LD2802210295 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the Federal Assembly's upper chamber, and FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic took place in the Federation Council today. Our parliamentary correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov reports:

[Osipov] As was said by the spokesmen of the sides involved in the talks, the Federation Council will seek to influence the decision to lift sanctions against the FRY. The FRY defense minister pointed to the paradoxical situation where Yugoslavia is not taking part in the combat operations being waged on the territory of the former socialist Yugoslavia, but is experiencing the full pressure of international sanctions. Vladimir Shumeyko said that the Federation Council's Committee on Security and Defense is at present preparing a report on the situation of the Russian military contingent in this region. Shumeyko said that on the basis of this report the upper chamber could adopt a statement advocating the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

In an interview with Russia's Radio Shumeyko said that Russia will stick to its own political and economic principles in this region of the world. He remarked further:

[Begin Shumeyko recording] One is not altogether in agreement with the presence that exists today, and with the influence of the United States and others of that ilk. That is to say, it can be seen from all sides that it is necessary to develop with Yugoslavia, to be on friendly terms with it, seek to get sanctions lifted, and develop relations [with it] in every possible way, which is what the Federation Council will do. [end recording]

Yeltsin Sends Message To S. Korean President

LD2802163395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Geronin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Seoul February 28 TASS—Russia is prepared to further expand economic cooperation with South Korea, Russian President Boris Yeltsin wrote in a personal message to his South Korean counterpart Kim Yong-sam, Mikhail Nikolayev, president of the republic of Sakha/Yakutia, who came here for a visit, told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [28 February].

Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the fact that works aimed at drawing up technical and economic substantiation for a gas-pipeline construction project finally began. The gas pipeline will carry gas from Yakutia to South Korea. Yeltsin and Kim Yong-sam met in Moscow in June, 1994 and reached an understanding on the subject.

Nikolayev passed Yeltsin's message on to Kim Yong-sam through South Korean Minister of Trade and Industry Pak Chae-yun on Monday.

Nikolayev and Pak Chae-yun signed an intergovernmental agreement on Russian-South Korean cooperation in the republic of Sakha/Yakutia on the same day. The document provides for expanding cooperation in the field of industry, energetics and exploitation of natural resources. Russia and South Korea intend to encourage modernization of industrial enterprizes, reconstruction and development of available facilities, creation of new joint ventures.

Kozyrev Leaves for Visit to PRC, Japan

LD2802193495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1850 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Kirillov, Vladimir Solntsev, and Viktor Khrekov]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, left today for a trip to Beijing and Tokyo which the Russian Foreign Ministry regards as a continuation of the active course of Moscow's diplomacy in the East.

The head of the Russian foreign policy department will give the Chinese and Japanese leaders personal messages from President Boris Yeltsin.

In Beijing Andrey Kozyrev will meet PRC President Jiang Zemin and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and will hold talks with Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs. According to Russian diplomats, the visit to China will focus on developing relations of constructive partnership between Russia and China.

In Tokyo, where Andrey Kozyrev arrives on Thursday evening [2 March] he is to meet Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, and hold talks with Yohei Kono, deputy prime minister and head of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. The Russian foreign minister said earlier that building up the positive aspect of mutual ties and expanding cooperation with Tokyo "will help to create a fundamentally new atmosphere in Russian-Japanese relations, something to make it possible to find an approach to the most difficult problem of a peace treaty, including the territorial aspect."

Talking to ITAR-TASS correspondents, representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry stressed that nothing sensational is expected of the trip and no major documents have been planned for signing. "This is normal practice, when both sides hold regular exchange of views at this level, and the best proof showing that our relations have entered quite a mature stage," Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Panov remarked.

The Russian delegation includes Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov. It is his first foreign trip as chief military expert of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Arrives; Talks to Journalists

LD0103040295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0255 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov, Vyacheslav Tomilin, and Viktor Khrekov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Beijing, 1 Mar (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Beijing today on a two-day visit. He is to meet PRC President Jiang Zemin and PRC Premier Li Peng, and will he have talks with Qian Qichen, head of the Chinese foreign policy department.

It is expected that Andrey Kozyrev will hand over to Jiang Zemin a personal message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"The main issue is that of consolidating the constructive partnership which was agreed upon by the leaders of the Russian Federation and the PRC in Moscow and which is founded on the firm basis of good-neighborliness between our two great states," Andrey Kozyrev stated to the ITAR-TASS correspondent at the airport, replying to a question about the program of the visit. According to the minister, Russia attributes great and top priority importance to contacts with China which have acquired a stable nature along the length of the frontier, within the framework of the Asian-Pacific region, and on a global level—and in the UN Security Council. "The president of Russia and the government have charged me with conducting a constructive, business-like discussion on all issues," Kozyrev stressed.

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin Leaves for Britain

LD0103082695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0651 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin departed for Britain on a three-day official visit this Wednesday [1 March]. Chernomyrdin will hold talks with Prime Minister John Major today and will participate in signing Russian-British documents.

Chernomyrdin's visit programme also provides for meetings with British politicians, bankers and businessmen.

The Russian premier will fly to Paris on Friday for a two-day working visit to France.

Chernomyrdin To Boost Cooperation With Britain, France

LD0103093895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0848 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The three-day official visit by Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin to Britain which starts this Wednesday [1 March] and a subsequent two-day working trip to France will be devoted to boosting economic cooperation between Russia and these two countries.

ITAR-TASS learnt from sources close to the Russian delegation that one of the tasks of the Russian premier's trip is to unfreeze projects, the implementation of which was suspended due to the Chechen conflict.

The head of the Russian cabinet will have a chance, for the first time since the Chechen conflict, to explain Moscow's policy in the Chechen republic during his personal meetings with the leaders of the two West European countries and to inform them of efforts to settle the conflict peacefully.

The Russian side is aiso ready to hear proposals on a better access of humanitarian aid from Europe to the

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conflict area as well as proposals by the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Chechnya.

Britain and France officially recognised that the Chechen events are Russia's domestic affair. However, the attitude of these countries to the military solution of the Chechen crisis, despite the recognition of the Chechen events as Russia's domestic affair, has not contributed so far to a succesful continuation of Western aid to Russian reforms.

Besides, the Russian side intends to demonstrate Russia's readiness and ability to pay debts to western creditors during Chernomyrdin's visit to London.

The Bank of England which is authorised to make settlements with the London Club will receive a cheque for 100 million U.S. dollars to pay Russian debts to the club which are due to be serviced this year.

The London Club unites private creditors of the former Soviet Union whose debts were inherited by Russia. All in all, Moscow is to pay this organisation 500 million dollars in 1995 (taking into account restructured debts for 1993-94).

Vice-Premier Oleg Davydov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here on Tuesday that payments will be made by mid-1995.

The vice-premier who will accompany Chernomyrdin in his trip, stressed that Russia "plans to meet its foreign debt obligations in time and in compliance with understandings on their lending".

Chernomyrdin will also hold meetings with leading British and French businessmen during his visits at which he will call their attention to lucrative sides of investments in the Russian economy and will spell out the Russian government's policy in the sphere of ensuring rights and protection of investors.

Kovalev Speaks to Council of Europe

954Q0139A Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 6, Feb 95 (signed to press 7 Feb 95) pp 22-24

[Speech by Sergey Kovalev, representative for human rights of the Russian Federation, in the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 30 January 1995: "Russia Needs Both Support and Pressure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and Gentlemen!

The question of the membership of the Council of Europe of a country such as Russia is not a routine problem either for this prestigious international association or for Russia itself.

For Europe this event would signify a historic breakthrough. A structure which, although performing a most important political and economic role in the modern world, is nonetheless a regional one would become a community of global proportions which would undoubtedly play a leading part in the history of the 21st century.

But this would signify a historic breakthrough for Russia also. A great power which, owing to a number of fateful circumstances, has been torn away from the European path of development would return to a civilization that is organic to its history and culture. Membership of the Council of Europe would mean for Russia an end to the giant historical zigzag and emergence on the path leading to prosperity and peace.

Has the time for this great event come? The European Convention believes the level of observance of human rights in a country to be a principal, if not the main, criterion for the admittance of this country or the other to the Council of Europe. This is an intelligent and, moreover, wise criterion, for human rights are the genuine basis of contemporary European civilization. I believe that you invited me primarily so that I, as the representative for human rights of the Russian Federation, might characterize for you the state of affairs in this sphere. I shall try to answer your question as conscientiously as possible. And whatever the attitude toward my opinions here, in the West, or there, in my country, I ask you to believe that they are dictated primarily by a sense of responsibility both to Russia and to Europe.

Years More Are Needed

So, then, if the matter is approached conscientiously and responsibly, it has regrettably to be affirmed that the human rights situation in Russia far from corresponds and will not correspond for a long time yet—for years, perhaps—to the high European standards. There are an infinite number of examples of this, unfortunately. I shall cite just a few spheres in which things are really bad.

The situation in places of imprisonment. The great British humanist John Howard once said that the level of a state's development may be judged by its prisons. If, alas, we are to go by Howard, Russia is still in a state of barbarism. I will not weary you with the details but will refer those that are interested to the published report of the Commission for Human Rights under the president of the Russian Federation for 1993. I will say merely that the living conditions of inmates do not even come close to corresponding to the minimum requirements of humanity; bad and cruel treatment of them on the part of the personnel, abasement of their human dignity—these are, as before, not an exception but a system.

Inviolability of person and sanctity of the home. Everything is quite bad in this sphere also following the promulgation of the well-known presidential edict "The Fight Against Gangsterism." I doubt that any serious successes have been scored in the fight against gangsterism in the eight months that have elapsed since the edict was issued; on the other hand, I know of a multitude of perfectly honest people whose rights, protected by the constitution, have been flagrantly violated by the law-and-order authorities.

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Freedom of movement and choice of place of residence. A law abolishing the licensed nature of the registration of place of residence—a disgraceful medieval vestige artificially resuscitated by Stalin at the start of the 1930's—took effect back in 1993. But this law has simply never been embodied in practice. A whole number of decrees of regional authorities directly contradicting the law that had come into force have not only blocked its practical embodiment but also made the former passport procedures even tougher in some respects. This precedent is extremely dangerous for the added reason that it undermines the principle of the supremacy of the laws and loosens the entire legal system of the state. In addition, concealed discrimination against the citizens on a national basis and even ethnic purges of the regions may be discerned in several decrees. Unfortunately, I am forced to affirm the total inaction of the central authorities overseeing compliance with the laws.

I would like you to understand: In all three cases the reason is not only and not so much the ill will of the authorities—local or federal. The problem is not only one of inadequate laws. The problem is primarily the extremely low feeling for law and order—of both the authorities and of the populace. Indeed, what is the point of proclaiming the rights and liberties of the citizens in the constitution if the population does not know how and is not accustomed to defending them? What is the point of good laws if the individual citizen is not prepared to abide by them? What is the point of a reform of legal procedure if people prefer not to apply to the court but to uphold their interests by other, frequently criminal, paths? There will have to be years of strenuous work before the majority of the population attains to the necessary level of feeling for law and order.

I shall confine myself merely to these three examples, although I could speak at length on this subject. I could tell you about the difficult situation of the refugees and the involuntary immigrants, the violations of human rights in the army, the incessant attempts (unsuccessful as yet, fortunately) to place the news media under state control, and the mass rights violations in the socioeconomic sphere. But even what I have said is sufficient. The human rights situation in Russia far from corresponds to the European Convention.

Just Two Months Ago

Nonetheless, had I been asked two months ago: "Should Russia be admitted to the Council of Europe?" I would have replied: "Yes, and as soon as possible." I shall try to substantiate this somewhat paradoxical-sounding viewpoint.

Once, right at the start of perestroyka, Andrey Sakharov said, answering the question of how the West should view the reforms in the USSR, that Russia needed very friendly support combined with unceasing pressure.

Why did Sakharov think this way? Because he realized that reformers at the top are not strong enough to overcome the gap between past and future independently. They need help. For both support and pressure, outside support and pressure included, work in aid of the reforms.

Russia's membership of the Council of Europe would be serious support for today's political and legal reforms. At the same time, on the other hand, membership of the Council of Europe determines certain mechanisms of pressure on a country also. The most serious such mechanism is, of course, the European Court for Human Rights, whose jurisdiction in the event of membership would automatically extend to Russia also. And the mere signing of the Convention imposes certain international obligations on the participating country. Lacunae and contradictions in domestic legislation are very often the source of violations of human rights in Russia. Russia's affiliation to the Council of Europe would eliminate these lacunae and contradictions since two important principles are recorded in our constitution: the primacy of the country's international obligations over domestic legislation and the principle of the direct effect of the constitution in a court of law.

Ultimately there is theoretically also such a mechanism as suspension of the membership and even expulsion from the Council of Europe of a country violating the Convention. This also would have a restraining influence and would prevent the Russian authorities going too far in an infringement of human rights.

I would note in addition that Russia's affiliation to the Council of Europe would strike a serious blow at the positions of our isolationists. They would readily help the Western world build around Russia a new iron curtain in the place of the former one demolished to mutual pleasure. But was it worth demolishing old partitions in order to put new ones, but from outside this time, in their place?

Thus or approximately thus I would have answered you two months ago.

It Is Impossible To Fight a People as a Whole

What has happened in these two months is common knowledge. War has erupted in the North Caucasus and it has not only been accompanied by the flagrant, mass violation of human rights in the zone of the conflict but has in Russia itself also called in question many, if not all, democratic transformations. I assume that you are all pretty well informed as to the events in Chechnya and I would like to share with you merely certain opinions ensuing from my own experience of work in this region. I would like to emphasize that I do not want here to touch on such questions as the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the General Dudayev regime, the separatist aspirations of this regime, and the violations of the rights of the national minorities that have occurred under this regime in the period 1991-94. All these issues, which were highly pertinent up to December 1994, have lost all meaning since the Russian Army's invasion of Chechnya and the

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bloodshed which has followed. Since this moment it has not been mythical "gang formations" and not even General Dudayev's armed units that have been fighting. The federal troops have been opposed by an armed people (a large part of the people, at least), which has no intention of surrendering to force. I reiterate what I have said repeatedly: A people as a whole may go astray. They may shape for themselves false ideals. They may be mistaken in their choice of leaders. But it is impossible to fight a people as a whole. Such a war cannot fail to develop into nation- killing, into genocide. It is this that is happening currently on a large part of Chechnya.

What has been said determines the nature of this war also. This is a barbaric war, in which more than just the rules of humanitarian law recorded in the second supplementary protocol to the 1949 Geneva Conventions are being flouted. All the norms of humanity formulated by mankind are being trampled in this war. It is sufficient to say that the artillery and aviation of the federal troops have even now practically destroyed the city of Groznyy—a city with a 600,000- strong population, a city which the federal government itself considers Russian.

Aside from all else, this is a futile war. It is obvious to me and, yes, all conscientious observers that even after the conclusive destruction of Groznyy combat operations will not cease. Just as dogged and bloody battles for each locality of Chechnya and then a long and savage guerrilla war in the mountains lie ahead.

The situation is made worse by the fact that the federal authorities are stubbornly reluctant to call things by their name. In official government documents what is happening is called not a war and not an armed conflict of an international nature, as it should be, based on the Geneva accords, but exclusively "an operation to disarm illegal armed formations." This is being done to exclude the possibility of the application of the rules of international law.

The war has already had a dire effect on the domestic political situation in Russia. The authorities are once again totally alienated from the people, the majority of which does not support the Caucasus adventure. Trying to change this attitude, official authorities are forcing the state-controlled news media to reproduce disinformation and lies. Simultaneously pressure on the independent press, radio, and television has been intensified sharply.

The increased distrust between the authorities and society is undermining the prospects of the continuation of the political, economic, and legal reforms that have begun. Having lost a support in the shape of the reformers, the government is seeking—and finding—it among Zhirinovskiy's ultra-nationalists and Barkashov's fascists.

A Wise and Flexible Solution Is Needed

How should Europe react to the events that are rapidly unfolding in Russia?

There can be no question, of course, of immediate admittance to the Council of Europe. Aside from all else, this would be simply blasphemous against the background of the blood that has been shed. Today I welcome the idea of a postponement of consideration of the question of Russia's affiliation to the European Convention for at least a year.

As far as the future prospects are concerned, it should not be forgotten that the current Russian leadership is not Russia. A civil society has still to take shape in our society, of course, but we have in the past eight years covered a considerable distance in this direction. And now, even if a number of power structures and institutions are intent on turning Russia aside from the democratic path, they will still have to overcome the resistance of Russian society. I assure you that this is a difficult and, I would like to believe, insuperable task for the authorities. Remember: We were able to cope with the communist putsch in August 1991 and to prevent a fascist coup in October 1993. Today's struggle will be more protracted and arduous and is attended by great moral and political costs. But I believe that democracy will triumph on this occasion also.

The role of the West could be extraordinarily important here. And a policy of support and pressure remains pertinent in this plane also.

One of the suggested approaches for a solution of the question of Russia's admittance to the Council of Europe is as follows: to establish some schedule or calendar plan, in accordance with which Russia would have to eliminate its lag in the sphere of human rights. Fulfillment of this schedule would signify Russia's sincere desire to approach the criteria of the European Convention and could be the basis for the adoption of a decision on its membership of the Council of Europe.

There is for us currently no more urgent problem than that of the Chechen war. Should thought not be given to how to draw up a similar schedule for a peaceful settlement in the Caucasus, advantage having been taken of the year's postponement of the adoption of a final decision?

The principal stages of this plan could be, from my viewpoint:

1. The immediate termination of combat operations and the start of the negotiations of the warring parties on questions of a military and humanitarian nature: disengagement of the armed forces, the creation of humanitarian corridors and security zones, an exchange of prisoners, assistance to the victimized civilian population, the maintenance of order in the conflict zone, and the disarmament or withdrawal of the armed formations.

2. The creation of a mechanism of a political resolution of the problem of the North Caucasus, in the form, for example, of a North Caucasus peace conference. No interested party, neither of the parties to the Chechen

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conflict in particular, should be arbitrarily excluded from the negotiating process here. The negotiations will, of course, be extremely complex and will probably go on for a long time. But it is important to engage the mechanism of a peaceful settlement and to prevent a resumption of hostilities.

At this stage the problem of the North Caucasus would once again, in my view, be an internal affair of the Russian Federation—to the extent, in any event, that the mass violations of human rights in the region cease. But consultations of authoritative international organizations, the Council of Europe included, would be both appropriate and useful here, it seems to me.

3. Russia should draw up a legal base for the solution of conflicts like the Chechen conflict lest anything similar occur on the territory of the Federation in the future.

The fulfillment of these three stages would seem to me essential and, perhaps, sufficient for the question of Russia's affiliation to the European Convention to be raised anew in April 1996 and for determination of the final date of its membership of the Council of Europe.

Such a formulation of the issue would be a wise and flexible solution combining the elements of support and pressure about which Sakharov spoke.

I thank you for your attention and will be happy to answer any questions.

Moscow, Seoul Sign Economic Cooperation Agreement

SK0103051495 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Korean 1200 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow and Seoul signed a five-year agreement on economic cooperation. On behalf of Russia, Mikhail Nikolayev, president of the Republic of Yakutia located in eastern Siberia, signed the agreement in Seoul. The agreement provides the possibility to establish a government-level coordinating committee in charge of the joint development of trade, economy, and science and technology.

ROK businessmen are very interested in the development of natural gas fields and [words indistinct] in this area.

FRG Allegations of U.S. Spying Cited

MM0103110695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 95 p 3

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy: "Americans Not Averse To Listening In to What Germans Are Saying About Them"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn, 27 Feb—The U.S. special services are engaging in spying activities not only in France but also in the FRG. Manfred Zuch, a Bundestag deputy from the "Union- 90" party ("The Greens"), expressed such a view in a program of the German SAT-1 television company. The deputy, who has become this parliamentary faction's first representative in the parliamentary oversight commission (POC) dealing with the activities of the special services, indicated that he intends to submit the question of U.S. espionage in Germany to the next POC session.

For his part, Herbert Schmuelling, deputy official spokesman of the FRG Government, in reply to a question on M. Zuch's pronouncements, pointed out that the special services are, of course, not adhering to the fundamentals of agreements reached earlier in their activities.

According to information from SAT-1, whereas France and Britain ceased all intelligence activities after the united Germany received full sovereignty, serious problems arose during negotiations with the United States on this issue. As before, the U.S. special services are continuing to insist on having an opportunity to bug telephone conversations in Germany in the future.

U.S. Inspectors To Check on Fulfillment of START-1

LD0103095395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 1 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The U.S. on-site inspection agency sets about working in Russia and other CIS member states, having nuclear arms, today. It is to control the way these countries fulfil their obligations under Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty-1 (START-1).

Certain operations in this vein have already begun in Russia, said General Yuriy Zhuravlev, who is in charge of the state testing range of strategic missile troops. According to him, Russia and the United States established exchange of telemetric information about missile launches. Moreover, testing ranges are outfitted with special devices which decode relevant data promptly.

Officers of the U.S. on-site inspection agency will check on reliability of data and monitor mobile forces. They will visit the Votkinsk-based industrial complex which turns out the widely acclaimed "Topol" strategic missile complex (chief designer Boris Lagutin).

The inspectors will also attend exercises involving mobile missile complexes, General Gregoriy Govan, chairman of the U.S. on- site inspection agency, told ITAR-TASS in Washington.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Overturns Decision To Dismiss Regional FCS Official

LD2802131695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin has suspended the Ingush president's decision to dismiss Colonel Gennadiy Portnov, head of the regional directorate of the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS]. Yeltsin has suggested that Ruslan Aushev bring his order in line with the Russian Constitution. In accordance with an earlier edict issued by President Yeltsin, appointment of heads of regional directorates of the FCS is the prerogative of federal authorities.

Counterintelligence Chiefs Pledge To Seize Dudayev

LD2802185395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1706 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Top officials from Russian counter-intelligence agencies have joined in a firm pledge today to arrest leader of Chechen separatists Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Valentin Sobolev, deputy chairman of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service, and Aleksey Molyakov, head of the Counter-Intelligence Department of the Russian Army, told a news conference on Tuesday that they were sure "Dudayev is still in Chechnya and will be arrested and committed for trial."

Counterintelligence chiefs said that their people have not seized the separatist leader yet, because "Dudayev displays extreme caution and is permanently surrounded by 10-12 body guards from among his closest relatives."

General Sobolev said that "for a long time already Dudayev had not met journalists and mediators in person" video tapes with his remarks being distributed by his men.

RF Foreign Intelligence Priorities Viewed

954F1396B Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Jan 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Grigoriy Rapota, deputy director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, by Andrey Poleshchuk, under the rubric "Special Services"; place and date not given: "Russian Intelligence Officers Are Among the Best in the World, Is the Firm Opinion of Foreign Intelligence Service Deputy Director Grigoriy Rapota"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

From the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA File:

Lieutenant General Grigoriy Alekseyevich Rapota was born in Moscow in 1944. He graduated from the MVTU [Moscow Higher Technical School] imeni Baumana with his first degree in engineering. He went to work for intelligence immediately after graduating from the institute in 1966.

"Despite my engineering education, in intelligence my field was always political intelligence. It just happened that way," says Grigoriy Rapota. He says that he had been on three foreign assignments—"in Western Hemisphere countries and Europe." He speaks English, and also can converse in Spanish and Swedish. In his free time he likes to meet with friends, read, tinker, and engage in sports activities. Watching television takes a good deal of his time—he has to be current on the latest events. There are three children and four grandchildren in Grigoriy Rapota's family.

[Poleshchuk] Unless I am mistaken, this is your first appearance in the press—until now you have been a "classified" Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] deputy director. Which line do you directly supervise?

[Rapota] Regarding the press, this is not entirely correct. At the end of December of last year, I published an article on foreign intelligence in the KTO YEST KTO newspaper. Although I did not write this article especially for the newspaper—it was my presentation at an open conference. It is true, however, that I have not given interviews until now. By the way, you quite correctly used the word "classified." You see, by law a particular person's affiliation with intelligence constitutes a state secret. Therefore, for any one of us to come out in the open must be sanctioned by the FIS director. Only he has the right to decide who may become public. Intelligence cannot operate in an environment of complete openness. So when you contacted me with the request for an interview, I had an ambiguous feeling about it. On the one hand, I am not used to communicating with the press, and in general we try to meet journalists as rarely as possible. On the other hand, we are a budget-financed organization, and the taxpayers have a right to know at least in general terms what we are doing, where money is being spent and for what. Therefore, we must, of course, look for some ways to tell about ourselves.

Regarding the lines of work I am in charge of... I supervise a number of operational units, as well as such line of our activities as interaction with intelligence services of foreign countries.

[Poleshchuk] The latter is probably a relatively new line?

[Rapota] Yes and no. We have had partnership relations with intelligence services of socialist and a number of developing countries for quite a long time. So you may say that the institute of partnership in itself is old. However, active expansion of partnership and extending it to those whom in the past we unequivocally considered our adversaries—this is a new phenomenon for us. This

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line began to develop when we became an independent organization at the end of 1991. And the experience of the past few years tells us that there is an unquestionable benefit from partnership. This does not at all nullify or place in doubt the traditional intelligence work, but it provides an opportunity to resolve in a new way tasks in areas where national interests intersect or coincide.

[Poleshchuk] Which areas, precisely?

[Rapota] For instance, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In this respect we in principle have no disagreements with our colleagues in the United States or the European countries. In this area, we actively exchange information, opinions, analysis, and evaluation. Or, for instance, combating drug trafficking. Domestically, this is the responsibility of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and counterintelligence, but when this problem spills outside our borders, intelligence is immediately brought into dealing with it. Then, there is anti-terrorist work. I would like to emphasize specifically Islamic extremism. And I would particularly insist on not confusing extremism with fundamentalism, because, generally speaking, we do not see any harm in the fundamentalist Islamic teachings. The same as, for instance, in Catholicism, Buddhism, and Orthodoxy, and so on. Extremism may be displayed by members of any faith. But since the war in Afghanistan, the Middle East, and the Iranian-Iraqi conflicts aroused the forces of Islamic extremism, today it is becoming most dangerous. In this area we cooperate not only with Western, but also with Islamic countries that do not wish to see Islamic extremism expand. By the way, they are the majority.

[Poleshchuk] How long is the list of your partners today?

[Rapota] Let me put it this way: It is long, and it continues to expand.

[Poleshchuk] How is such a partnership formalized—agreements, gentlemen's agreements, or in some other way?

[Rapota] There are different forms. We do not have any preconceptions or dogmas in this respect. We choose a form that is convenient both for our partner and for us. Naturally, we follow our laws. Contacts with partners are carried out both at the official and the working level. In many countries we have our representatives who carry out this liaison. And, correspondingly, intelligence services of these countries have their representatives in Moscow.

[Poleshchuk] Is this what is called a rezident, rezidentura, or something else?

[Rapota] No, it is an FIS officer declared to the special service of a particular country—a person who carries out the representation function.

[Poleshchuk] So he cannot become persona non grata under any circumstances?

[Rapota] Well, it may—in the event that he, God forbid, commits a criminal offense. But it does happen—it has only happened once, though—that our representative has had to wrap up his tour of duty at the request of the leadership of the country of his assignment for political reasons.

[Poleshchuk] Could you cite a particularly impressive example of fruitful cooperation last year?

[Rapota] No, you know—probably not. I will explain why. Partnership interaction presupposes certain rules of play. One of the basic rules is confidentiality. If we do something jointly, then naturally we report to our political leadership; we never do anything behind its back. But we cannot speak widely about this. Perhaps we would even like to announce something, so as to reinforce our own prestige and the prestige of the country. But that is not always advantageous to our partner. Besides, one must always remember the interests of security. This applies especially to the fight against organized crime.

I would like to stress that partnership between intelligence services is an extremely necessary and useful institution, and, if you will, one of the elements of the state's foreign policy.

[Poleshchuk] What kind of year, in your view, was 1994 for the FIS? What did you have more of, victories or defeats?

[Rapota] In general, we always have enough of each. The balance is sometimes on the side of the victories, and sometimes, unfortunately, on the side of the defeats. It seems to me that last year the balance was on the positive side for us. I would not even venture to calculate this as the number of any kind of fantastic victories; it is simply that on the whole, intelligence has begun to feel more confident in our society, thanks to our own efforts and that understanding of our work that exists in the organs of legislative and executive power. We have come to be in greater demand. Certain new forms of our work have been developed. For instance, FIS' open reports, which we intend to continue to present to the public.

It is also important that, it seems to me, intelligence has been able to establish normal relations with the public and the press. This does not mean, however, that all we get from journalists is praise. That is not the point. What has also been amazing and has caused a negative reaction was the dilettantism of some persons writing about intelligence. Therefore, it was very much in our interest to see a category of journalists come on the scene with whom we could conduct a professional conversation, who at least would use the correct terminology and understand it. What is written about us today is of better quality than in the past, and we are glad to see it.

[Poleshchuk] You said that you feel that intelligence today is being better utilized. What signs make you think so?

[Rapota] I do not belong to the category of people who believe that whatever intelligence says must be instantly accepted. Even if we are 100 percent certain of the

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validity of our information. It just does not work that way. As is known, in making his decision, a politician uses many sources; he may make some forced steps, which on the surface ignore our information. I treat this with understanding. Although, of course, it is regrettable that some information does not get the proper attention. I believe, however, that we must be patient and persistent, and in showing an objective picture of events, present new arguments and proof in the form of documents, and so on.

The increased volume of requests from state organizations bringing our specialists into discussion of vital problems in inter- agency commissions—this is also an indicator of our authority. The number of such requests is increasing. The intelligence service's opinion also is taken into account in making state decisions in the area of foreign policy.

[Poleshchuk] What problem among those the FIS encounters today concern you, as one of the intelligence service's top officials, most? In particular, are you satisfied with FIS financing?

[Rapota] Overall, we probably encounter all the same serious problems as any other state organization. You mentioned finances.... You see, of course, in order to accomplish its tasks, intelligence needs more money. I will also tell you that our budget financing is smaller by an order of magnitude than that, for instance, of the CIA. But... we remember what kind of situation the country is in today and cannot ask for any special privileges for ourselves. I must say that what we have today is the absolute minimum that permits maintaining intelligence as a viable service.

[Poleshchuk] But simply maintaining viability is still an abnormal situation. You need to develop, since your opponents are not standing still....

[Rapota] You are right, of course. It is true that when a Western country's intelligence officer embarks on an assignment, he is not burdened with thoughts of financing; figuratively speaking, he has a bag of money at his disposal, and hence he probably does not have to strain his brain as much. Our officers have to show a lot of ingenuity. Which, by the way, they do.

[Poleshchuk] Do I read you right—that the intellectual level of Russian intelligence officers is higher than that of their colleagues abroad?

[Rapota] I would not want to hurt our partners, but I believe that yes, the level of our intelligence officers is very high. On the whole. Of course, people are different.... But in addition to the fact that we have a strict system of selection and professional training, life itself forces our personnel to be extremely resourceful.

[Poleshchuk] Going back to the problem of FIS financing. I would like to ask: Why does the budget of your service remain closed to this day? The CIA, for example, does not conceal this figure....

[Rapota] The figure, yes, but it never discloses the structure of its outlays. In general, we believe that all of our activity must be kept secret, with the exception of that which it is already impossible not to speak of, which must be disclosed with the aim of creating better conditions for intelligence work. As for the total figure, whether to disclose it or not, that problem, it seems to me, should be decided by the legislators in any case. But we feel more sanguine when less is known about us.

[Poleshchuk] In my view, the financial question as applied to intelligence last year attracted especial attention in connection with the Ames case. The amount of the fee that Ames received for his work is known—$2.5 million! That sum had a very strong effect on the Americans, literally sending them into shock. They could not imagine that the poor Russian intelligence service could pay an informant so much money. It is as if grounds have appeared to suspect you of a strange kind of hypocrisy....

[Rapota] Leaving Ames to the side, I should emphasize that, first of all, as I have already said, we still do have the funds for our work. Secondly, however difficult our situation becomes, we will spare nothing for a good source of information, one that affects our life and state interests. We will find the money, even if it takes the last shirt off our backs! And the state will understand and support us.

[Poleshchuk] Could you comment on the opinion that Ames was blown by a "mole" in the FIS' central staff?

[Rapota] For quite understandable reasons, I will not comment on the so-called "Ames case." Overall, any failure in any intelligence service in the world is a subject of extensive internal investigation. And, of course, all scenarios are considered. Including the possibility of the existence of a "mole," an information leak. In order for a particular scenario to proceed further, let alone be published in the press, one needs serious proof. Otherwise, a "mole hunt" may turn into a witch hunt. We very carefully protect our sources and a very limited number of our personnel have access to them. This does not mean, of course, that we are insured against betrayal. But failures may happen for the most unimaginable reasons.

[Poleshchuk] To what extent does the FIS participate in dealing with the Chechen problem?

[Rapota] The business of intelligence is to protect the state from external threats—this I have to emphasize at the outset. The entire mechanism of our intelligence service is oriented toward work abroad. We do not conduct intelligence inside the country. Therefore, of course, the military, the FCS [Federal Counterintelligence Service], and the MVD have assumed the entire burden of dealing with the Chechen problem. While we do what we are supposed to do. Our main task is to provide objective, truthful information how these events are perceived abroad. As an aside, let me mention that all consumers of our information (and we are happy to see it) do not

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demand of us any preconceived reporting; we are not under any pressure to emphasize or soften any particular aspect of our appraisals. We see it as a sign of great confidence in us. And in turn we try to meet this responsibility and report only the way things really are. We are interested not only in the reaction abroad to the Chechen events. Also, which is important, potential hostile actions. In particular, we are very concerned over activation of extremist groups that may use the Chechen events as a pretext for justification of their terrorist actions.

[Poleshchuk] Against whom?

[Rapota] Against Russian representations abroad; against individuals and organizations here, in the capital.

We also see our task as making sure that public figures abroad understand correctly the events in Chechnya. We are trying to somehow keep them away from incorrect appraisals, unreasoned actions, hasty political decisions.

[Poleshchuk] How is the situation today with respect to Russian intelligence doctrine—does it exist?

[Rapota] Intelligence cannot have its own particular doctrine different from that of the national security, foreign policy, and military doctrine. We in a way service these doctrines, facilitate their implementation. Nevertheless, we have our own plan of action—where we should direct our efforts, where to concentrate more resources....

[Poleshchuk] And where is your main attention concentrated today?

[Rapota] Our main task is to identify external threats to national interests. In this sense we have to first of all help to preserve the Russian state. This is the No. 1 task. And not only in connection with the events in Chechnya, which only exacerbated this problem.

The second in importance task is our near-abroad, integration processes. That is, not conducting intelligence in the near abroad, but facilitating integration processes. Not the restoration of the USSR, but rapprochement, integration with Russia on the part of a number of former USSR republics that at the same time preserve their sovereignty. Intelligence will do everything necessary for building a zone of stability and goodwill around Russia.

Among the main priorities for the FIS, I would name the strengthening of the economic and defense position of our country. We see an attempt to turn us into a raw-materials appendage, to cut us off from the developed technologies market, to weaken our military might.

[Poleshchuk] Recently, articles have been published in the Western press, in which serious accusations have been made against several famous Russian private organizations, in particular the Most-Group and the Menatep bank. Have not the heads of these, and perhaps of other offended Russian structures, appealed to the FIS with a request to learn more about the circumstances of the appearance of such publications? Can the FIS in principle render assistance to nonstate organizations?

[Rapota] As far as requests are concerned, the answer is simple: No one has appealed to us. Here it is extremely important to clarify our position. We are a state organization, serving only state institutions. In general, this is a very interesting question, whether we can serve private structures. Especially since it is usually couched in such a cavil: Since it is in the interests of all of us that Russian business should flourish, we should probably all help it out. Including intelligence. But here the question rests on the practice of such assistance.

It would seem that in supplying private Russian firms with intelligence information, we could help them in the competitive struggle with foreign business. But in this case, wittingly or unwittingly we would get bogged down in competition inside Russia. To whom to give the information—this or the other firm? And why? We can demand of a state organization proper handling of our information, which more often than not is classified; we can hold it responsible for a leak. But in a private structure? By the way, many special services in Western countries encounter the same problem. I, at least, am not aware of instances where they directly provided information to private business.

[Poleshchuk] Perhaps you noticed recent publications in our newspaper regarding the conflict between the Security Service of the President of Russia and the Most-Group, where, among other things, it was said, citing Kremlin sources, that Russian special services' personnel abroad have been tasked to carefully follow the movements of Most head Vladimir Gusinskiy and his contacts abroad. Does this involve FIS officers?

[Rapota] I can tell you with full authority that no such assignment passed through me. I read the articles you mentioned, and indeed some things in them raised my eyebrows. Generally speaking, when we get an assignment concerning Russian citizens, it involves people who are under investigation. That is, we can help to clarify some information. But we are not a law-enforcement organ.

[Poleshchuk] As is known, the FIS has agreements on cooperation with the overwhelming majority of CIS countries (with the exception of Azerbaijan). Are there agreements between the FIS and other domestic special services—the FCS, the MVD, the Russian Federation President's Security Service [PSS RF] and Main Protection Administration? And what do you think about the recent proposal of the PSS RF chief, Major General Aleksandr Korzhakov, regarding the possibility of creating a special organ coordinating Russian special services' activities?

[Rapota] First, I would rather not comment on Aleksandr Korzhakov's remarks because, in my opinion, he did not encroach in any way on the intelligence sphere of activities.

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As to agreements between special services, they do exist. There is close interaction among all the aforementioned services. When we turn to them, we get the help we need, and we too try to treat with consideration their requests. I hope they too do not have any complaints about us.

[Poleshchuk] British authorities recently declared Aleksandr Malikov, Ostankino staff correspondent in Great Britain, persona non grata. He was accused of being an FIS officer. At the same time, more than a year ago it was announced that the Russian intelligence leadership had decided to stop using journalistic cover for its personnel. Can you confirm that this decision is not being violated?

[Rapota] With respect to Malikov, appropriate explanations already have been given. With respect to the FIS's use of journalistic cover in England also. As to the problem in general, we are guided by the law, common sense, and our needs. We have and will be using those professions to which the restrictions do not apply. It is another matter that this has to be done sensibly, to the extent it is dictated by need. Especially in such a delicate sphere as journalism. It is not in our interests, either, to hurt the image of our Russian journalists. As well as that of members of other professions.

Generally speaking, however, we cannot work without a cover. We just cannot get around it.

[Poleshchuk] If it not a secret, what cover did you use?

[Rapota] Ministry of Foreign Affairs....

Vedenkin Arrested on Grounds of Provoking Ethnic Hatred

LD2802170995 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Prosecutor General's office has announced that the Federal Counterintelligence Service, acting on its instruction, today arrested Aleksey Vedenkin, a leader of the Russian National Unity movement. A criminal case has been instigated against him, on the grounds, inter alia, of provoking ethnic hatred. Vedenkin had stated earlier on television that he was ready to shoot and kill some deputies of the State Duma.

Rutskoy Interview on Political Views

954F1494A Novosibirsk VECHERNIY NOVOSIBIRSK in Russian 21 Feb 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with former Vice President of Russia Aleksandr Rutskoy, by Vladimir Kuzmenkin; place and date not given: "Rutskoy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **There will be no forewords and afterwords. Half a year ago we promised our readers an interview with Rutskoy, and we did it, although it was not at all easy. Why Rutskoy? Formally—because he was the first to come to us. I mean candidates for the president of Russia: There is yet much to be said and written about them; we, though, will try to give them the opportunity (of course, if they wish so) to say what the people running for the first job in the state consider most important.**

Rutskoy was the first to come here. He has not aged—except perhaps more gray hair. An elegant black coat, a suit "from Yudashkin." No visible security. He is still blunt in his opinions, does not duck questions, says what he thinks. Actually, all four years that I have known him, Rutskoy has been this way. That is why I left all his answers as they are—otherwise he would not understand me.

[Kuzmenkin] Let us probably start by saying that Rutskoy has disappeared somewhere. He walked out of Lefortovo, began to put together the Derzhava [State] movement, and then dropped out of sight. No press, no television....

[Rutskoy] About Derzhava. This is a sociopolitical movement. I want to particularly emphasize: nonideological, based on the opinion that at the current stage various "isms" are not the main point. The main point is for a person to find faith, to become moral, to become spiritual. We are talking today about the crisis of the state, but there is an even more terrible crisis—the crisis of the individual, the crisis of the man, who has turned into a high-order being with a fetal mentality. Blood is spilled—we are silent; authorities engage in arbitrariness—we are silent; corruption and bribes—we are silent.... A person may do what he wants with faith—sell it out, for instance, for mercenary motives, but he cannot live without faith, because then he ceases to be a man. This is what Derzhava promotes, and at the first stage of organizing the movement there was information, I was shown on Central Television, there were commentaries on the radio. And then, when they saw that the movement was acquiring a mass scale, people started to come.... Yesterday in Berdsk 4,000 persons gathered, and we had to hold the meeting on the street. People stood in the cold for three and a half hours. Why did they stand there? They were probably interested to find out about my position. And I, in turn, wanted to know the position of these people. We have a program. If everyone understands it, then it will become popular. And if "ours" begins to truly form from many thousands of "mine's"—you know, 100 Yeltsins may come and 1,000 Chubayses, and it will change nothing. Useless! As to information: A quiet order was given, and they pretended that Rutskoy did not exist. I am barred from television.

[Kuzmenkin] But practically everyone is claiming this kind of "popular" program.... You said at the press conference that "the number of those hustling for the role of president has reached 60." And every one, presumably, out of concern for the people....

[Rutskoy] You know, what makes me different is that you can read my program. You can write what you agree with, and what not, and strangely enough, you will get an answer. I can tell you about these 60: They will pluck things from who knows where, and something from me as

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well! Right now Zhirinovskiy has grabbed the idea of state organizational development and expounds on it: When someone from the audience asks him a question in order to better understand the idea—this is it, he comes to a halt, does not know what to say. Why does he not know what to say? Because he did not form this idea. You do not really think that this program was written yesterday?! I have been thinking about it since 1990, digested it. When I was vice president, I visited Novosibirsk three times, and I can say the same about other regions: These are the contacts that form my outlook.

[Kuzmenkin] Why was it then that your ideas did not interest anyone at the time?

[Rutskoy] At the time, there was bright future ahead of us: We were promised that everyone would become an owner. There was ideology of Gaydar and Yeltsin, and everyone believed it. And I told in 1991 where it would all end. Elementary logic dictated this conclusion. Do we need to reject the market? No! But neither should we forget the role of the state. Look how many scandals there are now: Money taken from the people, this money put in foreign banks, the perpetrators took off—and good-bye! How many such examples; but it could have been done differently from the very beginning.

[Kuzmenkin] All right, can the president initiate changes in the course of the reforms you are talking about?

[Rutskoy] You mean the current president?

[Kuzmenkin] Future.

[Rutskoy] Well, this is from the "if and what if" series.... Of course, the president can do it. Let me give you this example: Sometime in November 1991, when my relations with Boris Nikolayevich were still good.... They cooled after the Belovezha plot that they called an agreement, and when he brought in Gaydar's team, giving it the opportunity to make a mockery of the national economy. I said then in Novosibirsk that a team of boys in pink pants had come in, which in the final count will destroy the economy. In the end, it turned out that I was right. How can one free the prices while a powerful monopolistic system of goods production is still operating? And here is what we got as a result: Each to the extent of his ability—inflated, disbanded, closed. Enterprises are idle, and we do not produce anything except money; hence crazy inflation. No matter what they keep saying about 5-percent inflation, 4-percent—there is nothing they can do until production recovers. What we have, however, is that instead of the formula "money—commodity—money" we work by the formula "money—air—money." We have devalued ourselves, and now it turns out we can be simply purchased off the block. And the president who will become president at the next elections—if he still has mass support, which is possible only when a truly popular program of transformations is envisaged (not reforms—everybody has had enough of that, people no longer respond to it)—will not work without the support of the masses. Suppose, for instance, Anpilov becomes president—this is an absolute nightmare. Or Zhirinovskiy—he will never have mass support.

[Kuzmenkin] This is perhaps an improper question, but still: There will be presidential elections. Most likely, Yeltsin will run; definitely Zhirinovskiy. Let us say, Yavlinskiy and some communists. Who do you see as your main rival?

[Rutskoy] Keeping in mind that in Yeltsin's hands are all the enforcement agencies, the mass media, administrations from republic to rayon level; that he has the money.... Especially now that they are putting together the Vybor [Choice] automatic system—representative authorities have no access to it. Of course, Yeltsin has tremendous chances. They will simply rig everything, as they did in December 1993 in adopting the new Constitution.

[Kuzmenkin] But you do understand that people do not like losers.

[Rutskoy] I am not a loser. The problem is that if at the time when I defended the interests of the people I had had mass support.... People promised and said: "Hold on to the end, we will support you!", but in reality you see what happened. I do not want to blame anyone for it—this is first of all my own fault. If I had had my current program then.... But I simply did not have enough time to put it together. Now for already a year I am the master of my time; I have no burdens, just work. On my own. Some people ask: Who writes Rutskoy's books? I have, by the way, four already published, and am working on four more.

[Kuzmenkin] You work without an aide?

[Rutskoy] Olga used to ask when she typed my manuscripts: What is she to do with them? I used to say: Throw them away or tear them up. Now I am pulling it all together, because interested people are already coming. They came to my home, and saw that I write myself.... And note this: The mass media no longer says that allegedly somebody is writing for Rutskoy. In the past, leaders dictated—this is stupid: I cannot understand how one can dictate his thoughts. I can imagine that they can be expressed in a creative form, but to encompass the whole spectrum... I doubt.

[Kuzmenkin] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you have the reputation of an honest but misled man. Here we have a real situation of presidential elections: Winning requires one candidate. Will you make an alliance with someone?

[Rutskoy] After Lefortovo, where for half a year I could think in a cell 2.5 by 3.5 and where nothing interfered with my thinking, I came to the conclusion that one of the causes of the tragedy and defeat in October 1993 was precisely that there was no solidarity and unity. I came out with this idea and proposed: Let us at least sign a joint document and work all together. Who will become whom afterwards is not that important. I, at least, will find work for myself....

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We have talked about it for half a year, and nobody did anything. Then I chalked off this company. Especially when I saw that one was trying a cocked hat for fit, then another, and third.... Petr Romanov tries on the toga of a future prime minister—before you know it, he is a candidate for president. I looked at all this ridiculous game and said: Go to hell. After all, I have the right to be independent in politics—so now I travel and deal with this issue.

[Kuzmenkin] Perhaps I am wrong, but I think that in Russia a person with the looks of Zyuganov or Gaydar will never be elected.

[Rutskoy] I think that looks are of absolutely no importance.

[Kuzmenkin] Where?... In Russia?!...

[Rutskoy] Well, how shall I put it. A person may be good-looking, shall we put it this way, and have zero inner content. Although, of course, it does play a certain role. But I never pay attention to a person's appearance: I have, for instance, a person who heads my economic group, and he cannot talk at all. When he speaks, you cannot listen for more than 10 minutes, because after that you get the impression that his brain is frostbitten. But he is a very intelligent and exceptionally decent man. And he writes wonderfully: When you read his thoughts, you simply admire his knowledge, logic, thinking. I will tell you: I am planning to have him as minister of economics. It does not matter to me that a minister of economics cannot talk—what is important to me is that he can think and work. Today, however, every little God's gift to the world is giving a press conference. Cleaning ladies will soon be giving press conferences—if they are from the Kremlin, of course. What is it? This is a dilution of the opinion of the state leadership, because everybody blabbers whatever comes to his head. Who needs a minister of economics who will be a fixture on television, shoot his mouth, and talk nonsense.

[Kuzmenkin] You have been a military pilot all your life. Now politics: Is it serious and for good?

[Rutskoy] I had a tremendous future in aviation, and there was a time when I regretted terribly that I had got involved in all this. Because I graduated from the General Staff Academy with distinction and was appointed chief of military training of the USSR Air Force—this is a lieutenant-general's position. And I was only 43.... This is a serious position, and the center opens future prospects—to become the Air Force commander in chief. Also, I know my abilities with respect to flight training, my level of knowledge, and therefore I can tell you that I would not get stuck in this position.

But I went into politics. Why? You know, all this perestroyka got to me. Could not take it anymore.... Such nonsense. After I had heard plenty of Gorbachev's speeches, where he was saying that perestroyka is when everyone wants to do the same thing as everyone else but better.... Just ponder this utter nonsense. When the Armed Forces were disintegrating in front of your very eyes; when concession after concession put us in a humiliating position; when we cut up our Oka rocket while the Americans kept their Lance; when the unfinished Krasnoyarsk early radar warning station, into which an enormous amount of money had gone, was wiped out; when we began to withdraw troops from Germany into nowhere....

[Kuzmenkin] Emotions....

[Rutskoy] You see, it all started seething inside: How can you treat in this way the Armed Forces that have ensured peace on the planet?! An inner protest. Also, at the time my parents were still alive, and I saw how a Great Patriotic War veteran lived, one who had been awarded six combat decorations, who had gone through the entire war as a tank driver, a junior officer! You know, in those times decorations were not given for things they are given for today. I saw how my parents lived in a 12-meter "Khrushchev slum," and I also saw how people lived in the Germany we had defeated—I served there for five years. It is these comparisons, and the inner protest that brought me into politics. Because we have tremendous resources, huge potential, and all of these go into some granaries, and the people have nothing.

[Kuzmenkin] The legendary "motherland's granaries" about which we know that they exist but nobody knows where they are....

[Rutskoy] Yes. Take the well-known housing problem. I admit that I may be mistaken, but judge for yourself: Can a society be healthy if there is no healthy family? And how can a family be healthy if it does not have a normal place to live? That is, without solving the housing problem, it is impossible to build a normal society.

Take, for instance, Siberia—the forest country. And look in what shacks people live in Novosibirsk.... Why has everyone been put into these cement vaults? The Russian man, who has such tremendous expanses of land, lives in this hen-coop, all cramped by the small space. Cramped space produces a cramped mentality. A Russian man is made in such a way that he must live in his own house, have at least 50 hundredths of land. In our climatic conditions, it is unprofitable for the state to produce vegetables, but if a man has land, will he not grow potatoes for himself? Cucumbers and tomatoes? Raise chickens? Of course he will have all this. And then will the man drink? No—when will he have time to drink if he has to watch over his household? And then will blockheads hang around on the streets and color their hair green?!

[Kuzmenkin] Still, what do you think: Have you done enough to change something?

[Rutskoy] I do not argue with the opinion that I have made mistakes. This is human nature: Only he who does nothing does not make mistakes. And I made mistakes....

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But I did my job to the extent of my abilities. Not everybody probably knows that the Constitution defined the vice president's rights in one sentence: "The vice president carries out the tasks assigned by the president." That is all! And what was in my powers, I did. I prevented voucher privatization of land. Had it happened, people already would have been rioting. I prevent the second stage of privatization from going ahead—auction sales of enterprises and real estate, which they wanted to do in half a year. I did not allow kolkhozes and sovkhozes to be destroyed. There was Yeltsin's edict that clearly set the date for disbandment of kolkhozes and sovkhozes—August 1992. I repealed his edict by my cable, and the president did not reverse my decision, because I said publicly in all the mass media that if my decision were reversed I would not take personal responsibility. Because in the edict that made the national agro-industrial complex [APK] my responsibility, there was this line: "The vice president bears personal responsibility for the state of affairs in the APK."

And just look what happened to private farms! Everything has disintegrated, was abandoned. Now imagine: If we had destroyed collective farms then, what would we be eating now?

[Kuzmenkin] There is a rather widespread opinion that Vice President Rutskoy, had he become president in October 1993, would immediately have instituted reprisals against his political opponents. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY even published a scenario to that effect: with camps, executions, and so on.

[Rutskoy] Filatov openly said that on television—that the most dangerous man to be afraid of and beware of is not Zhirinovskiy, not Zyuganov, not Anpilov, but Rutskoy. Poltoranin said the same thing. They understand that I am not a windbag. If I gave my word, I will bend over backwards to keep my word. They remember it well.... If I said that I would repay the debt to agriculture in 1992—I hammered it out and repaid it. If I said that by the end of the year I would hold two exhibitions and prove that our VPK [military-industrial complex] was capable of producing small machinery for agriculture—I held them and showed it. If you remember, I begged for money to produce this equipment at every congress, but they still did not give it to me. I even built an inter-farm enterprise near Istra, where the quality of product was excellent and everything went fine. I took Yeltsin, Gaydar, and Chernomyrdin there and showed it to them. And then I was given a tape to listen to: a conversation in the bath house between Burbulis and Yeltsin. Burbulis tells Yeltsin: If you, Boris Nikolayevich, sign for Rutskoy the APK reform program, in two years he, this ramrod, will get what he wants anyway. To be precise, he called me not ramrod but a mustached boot-top. But we, says Burbulis then, will look like zeros against him.

[Kuzmenkin] By the way, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, many believe that if Rutskoy had not stuck his neck out, he would have become president nicely and quietly in two years. What do you say?

[Kuzmenkin] You see, this is immoral—to watch as in front of your eyes the whole nation is debased, humiliated. How can one stay silent in such a situation?! Let us be frank: I could take the position of today's Rybkin, Shumeyko's position. I could sit quietly as vice president and play the fool. At least I would have hitched on later to the next authority, as Abdulatipov did, for instance. All the places he has been in: department chief in the Central Committee; then he ran in the presidential elections with Bakatin; then quickly betrayed Khasbulatov, became deputy minister, and from there moved to being Shumeyko's deputy. And I could too sit there and live in clover.... I repeat, this would have been immoral. I already said that I did not let them do this, and I get satisfaction from it. The country is being plundered, but at least not everything has been plundered.

You know, when I am asked, what if—I keep saying: Where do we begin? And at the same time I am frequently asked: Which of the Soviet leaders do you feel...

[Kuzmenkin] ...greatest respect for?

[Rutskoy] Yes, respect and reverence. I will tell you that the man who has remained in my memory, and remained forever, is Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. Why? Because this man started doing precisely what needed to be done. He began to bring the entire complex of social relations—political, social, economic—into compliance with the law. Discipline and order—this is a phase that provides perspective. And a forward perspective at that, not backward. And how does one impose order? Yes, you can do it by repressive methods, but you can do it through incentives. That is, if I were.... Rutskoy would have started with bringing everything in compliance with the law. You do not like the law—let us amend it, but only though specially designated institutions. But not a millimeter to the left, not a millimeter to the right away from the law, because it is compromises with the law, from Gorbachev to Khasbulatov and Yeltsin, that have brought the country to this state. There cannot be a compromise when it comes to the law. I believe that the state of affairs in the country is such, and the crisis of man, the crisis of the individual is such that we have to draw the line—this is it! From this moment on, nobody settles the score with anyone, nobody puts down his past (such put-downs must be banned by law). And from this moment on we begin to live by different principles, making the foundation of the society... what? An Orthodox way of life: morality, spirituality, faith, love. And everything will be normal.

[Kuzmenkin] And what about Muslims?

[Rutskoy] They live by the same principles. Do spirituality, morality, and faith have national bounds? What does ethnic origin have to so with it? By the way, I advocate resolving the ethnic problem through elimination of question 5 on the curriculum vitae—nobody

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needs this. Do you ask your friend, for instance, what nationality he is? If you are a decent man, you do not give a damn what color of hair the other person has, the slant of his eyes, and so on—right?!

[Kuzmenkin] A few questions to you as a military man. I mean of course Chechnya. But first I want to ask you: Do you know Dzhokhar Dudayev personally?

[Rutskoy] He did not fight in Afghanistan. He flew in strategic aviation: He took off in the Baltics, delivered a strike, and returned. I, on the other hand, served all my life in front-line aviation, which is based in the military operations area. So our paths have not crossed. I only saw him once at the beginning of October 1992.... No, I did meet him later once again, when he was already president and condemned me to the "death penalty." I flew to Nazran to the funeral of my friend Sulambek Aslanov, a famous test pilot, a major general. I was burying my friend, and it was there I met Dudayev. Ingush were very surprised: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, how can this be, no security?" I replied: "And what are you for?"

[Kuzmenkin] What impression did you get of Dudayev?

[Rutskoy] Well, the impression.... I talked to him the first time when he began to commit outrages: attacks on the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the KGB, the procuracy, releasing criminals from places of incarceration, seizing arms. I flew in, and we sat down. I say: "Listen, Dzhokhar, let us do it this way—dispense with protocol, just talk like people. Explain to me: What do you want?" He replies: "I want to become president." I say: "Fine; I have not taken my vacation; I will come and help you to become one, will campaign for you." Dudayev: "Great idea! Then I will definitely win." But I set a condition: "Enough of this nonsense! What are you doing? What do you want arms for? How about you stop this all, and I will tell Boris Nikolayevich that you have put all this nonsense out of your head." He: "Yes, you tell this to the president...." I left, and he again went on the rampage. Since he deceived me, and I, accordingly, as it turned out, deceived the president, I proposed to impose a state of emergency. But not in this stupid way: I proposed to block all transportation arteries, impose a pass policy, turn off the electricity, and demand that everything be brought into order. I cannot rule out that perhaps 10-15 people would have died. It is immoral, of course, to say this, but at least not thousands would be dead—that is the point!

[Kuzmenkin] What is your opinion of the Russian Army's actions?

[Rutskoy] When I heard Grachev's statement that he would get things in order there with a paratroop regiment, my hair stood up on end. It is not just frivolous—it is irresponsible to make such statements, because military people know what Grachev left to Dudayev! Two Army warehouses, on top of everything else—can you imagine what that is?! I knew what was happening on Dudayev's territory, and I knew that he had an army twice the size of the Austrian one. And not just an army: People who serve there are men, not 18-year-old boys. A real regular military!

I will tell you this: You are 30, and here is a boy who does not yet shave. What can he do to you? You will simply twist his ears off.

As to what I think about the actions of the military: I admire the feat of arms and heroism of our soldiers and officers. To conduct a military operation in this humiliated, insulted, and mocked state, to fulfill the orders—this says that people have honor and conscience, both officers and soldiers. And I will tell you: Central programs do not show these morgues—this is a nightmarish thing. When I saw these boys lying in stacks, I could not sleep all night....

And look what has been done to the military! Pacific Fleet marines are fighting in Chechnya—what does it tell you? They are pulling in the troops, a unit from here, a unit from there—how will they fight there? The Americans prepared for the Desert Storm for a whole year, while here the boys, who have not even handled weapons yet, are thrown into urban warfare!... And this, excuse me, is no joke; it is completely different from what you are told in an open field—here every window fires. In just one night, New Year's night, 70 tanks were burned!

[Kuzmenkin] How do you see a way out of all this?

[Rutskoy] John Keynes—a man whom I deeply respect as an outstanding economist of the twentieth century—said that a government that has pushed the economy into a crisis and the people into poverty cannot bring the economy out of the crisis and people out of poverty, for two reasons: because it does not know how to do it and because of loss of prestige. When authorities lose prestige, how can they resolve such serious problems? There is no way! Therefore, the only way out of the situation is to replace the authorities. Whoever becomes president—Sidorov, Petrov, Ivanov—he will find a way to stop the crisis. How can it be otherwise? Are we to continue killing? Exterminate an entire nation? We have to learn lessons from our history: There already has been a Caucasus war, and it lasted three decades. Do we want to put this pendulum into motion for another 30 years?

[Kuzmenkin] Now permit me, so to say, a few words without a protocol: questions to Rutskoy about Rutskoy. Has anything changed in your outlook after Lefortovo?

[Rutskoy] Well, my experience is not limited to Lefortovo—I had been in a Pakistani jail as well. So I can compare.... You know, I came to a conclusion—it is a good conclusion, by the way—that the wrong people are locked up. Absolutely the wrong ones. Over there you begin to understand people better: I spent time with racketeers, with drug and arms dealers, all sorts of people. This cage forces communication, and besides, my interest in figuring out a person's soul invited sincerity. I am not a snobbish

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person by nature; I behaved like a normal person, so people shared their thoughts with me. Well, I came to the conclusion that the wrong people are locked up. And before we start fighting crime, we should identify its causes. Then we will see that the blame lies with the state and the system of social relations.

Next. Prison gave me the opportunity to think a lot. When you are cut off from everything, your mind works actively. I wrote books in prison....

[Kuzmenkin] As far as I know, you like to paint and were considered a decent sculptor. Is this true?

[Rutskoy] I have six monumental works—I am a sculptor of monuments. There are originals of my work in Borisoglebsk, where I worked as a flight instructor; there is a composition dedicated to the 50 years of the Chkalov School, a sculpture-portrait of Chkalov six times the actual size; there is a huge panel in the Air Force Academy in Monino—2,500 square meters, in smalt.

[Kuzmenkin] What rank did you have when you did all this?

[Rutskoy] Up to the rank of major; after that I did not have the time. As to painting, I like painting nature. I am not a portrait painter. And also, it is boring. Communication with nature, on the other hand, gives a person the opportunity to look into himself. When you try to convey beauty, you get closer to it yourself, you develop love and respect for all the living things that surround you.

[Kuzmenkin] You have some kind of dog of a hard-to-pronounce breed.

[Rutskoy] A Muesterland gun-dog. It was given to me as a gift when I served in Germany. The dog looks like the Russian spaniel but twice as large. A very large dog, and serious.

[Kuzmenkin] What do you like to read?

[Rutskoy] I have read a lot: Dickens, Dostoevsky, Pisemskiy, Stanyukovich, Turgenev, Nekrasov. My favorite poet is Tyutchev. I cannot fathom why textbooks on literature do not include his poems. An outstanding philosopher and diplomat. In his poems you find a sincere love for the motherland, and they are topical to this day. As to modern authors, I have almost no time for that. Sometimes I leaf through them on a plane. I mainly study specialized literature: If you get involved in something, do it seriously.

[Kuzmenkin] What holidays do you celebrate? Other than birthdays, of course.

[Rutskoy] A birthday is not a holiday. It is a special date. My favorite holiday is Victory Day. I like this holiday—it has a connection with the fate of my grandfather, my father, and the fate of the people.

[Kuzmenkin] Your brothers also have ties with the military, do they not?

[Rutskoy] I dreamed of becoming a pilot since I was a child, and I fulfilled it. I graduated from the Barnaul school, and my middle brother Volodya too. Mikhail did not go into aviation but also is an officer. All of us have been discharged from the military now under the article "for discreditation," because all three were in the House of Soviets.

[Kuzmenkin] And did your sons follows in your footsteps?

[Rutskoy] Dima—the elder—was also enrolled in the Barnaul school, but later I had a conversation with his flight instructor. He told me: "Sasha, I will tell you frankly—he will become a pilot but... a mediocre one. Why ruin the boy's life?" I talked it out with him, and he left the school in tears. Now he is a student in the Medical Academy imeni Sechenova. And the younger—Sashka—he graduated from a Suvorov school. He always wanted to be in the military, and in order for him to get a taste for it I advised him to enroll in a Suvorov school. He went there for a while, and said: "That is it, enough!"—"What do you mean?"—"Father, just look what is happening with the military! It is berated and humiliated everywhere." So he did not become a military man—he went to study at the Finance Academy, the foreign currency and credit department. He will become a banker. After graduation he intends to enroll in the State Security Academy.

[Kuzmenkin] When was the last time you piloted a plane?

[Rutskoy] I will tell you. It was 1989, and the plane was Yak- 18. But if you put me now into a fighter plane, no problem. My aide jokes: One can shave off a beard, but what do you do with a mind? Seriously speaking, I am planning to visit the Chkalov plant, have a look at the Su-34. I am terribly curious about it, although I only have time late in the evening. I have very strong ties to the Sukhoy Design Bureau, and their aircraft—I flew them—are wonderful machines.

[Kuzmenkin] Tell me, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, and how do you feel about a glass or two in a good company?

[Rutskoy] I will tell absolutely honestly: When a person says he does not drink at all, he is lying. Gorky said a long time ago that if a person does not drink he is either a scoundrel or is sick. I am not a scoundrel and I am not sick, and therefore will not refuse it in a friendly gathering. But I never overdo it, and lately if there is an opportunity to slip away from such an event, I escape. There are just too many occasions, and I have a lot of friends, but if you get carried away with it, you can get into a state of a permanent visit to Ireland, in which our president is now.

[Kuzmenkin] You do smoke a lot, I see....

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[Rutskoy] Yes, this vice I just cannot get rid of.

[Kuzmenkin] Sport is recommended.

[Rutskoy] Regarding sports, the situation is this: When there is an opportunity to play volleyball, I do, with pleasure. Tennis is in fashion now, so it is almost embarrassing to mention that I like it. But I took to the racket earlier than our current figures.

[Kuzmenkin] Have you played with the president?

[Rutskoy] No, he always refused. I would have beaten him—100 percent. You have to keep up your reputation everywhere. Half a year ago I did it three times a week—tennis and volleyball, but now my whole life is on the road—can you imagine, I still have 61 regions to visit! From Novosibirsk I go straight to Irkutsk—they are already waiting for me.

Press Committee Chairman's Fate 'Settled in His Favor'

LD2802165095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The question of dismissal of chairman of the Russian State Committee for Press Sergey Gryzunov has been settled in his favor, Gryzunov's aide told ITAR-TASS here today referring to his conversation with Sergey Gryzunov upon the latter's return from Kremlin.

According to Kremlin sources, Gryzunov has met Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov but it is unclear whether he has met Boris Yeltsin. A well-informed representative of the presidential administration did not exclude this possibility earlier today. The press secretary of Gryzunov has no information about this either.

Soskovets: Chechen Interior Ministry Should Maintain Order

LD2802182795 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 95

[Video report by correspondent Vladimir Lenskiy]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lenskiy] The formation of bodies of authority is the biggest achievement of the recent period in Chechnya, believes Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation. In Mozdok today he held an extended session of the Commission on Restoration of Chechnya. [passage omitted] Oleg Soskovets today talked about his impressions.

[Begin Soskovets recording] The impressions are difficult of course. When one sees it all with one's own eyes one has of course to readjust one's actions in terms of restoration work, as well as in terms of organizing life in this area, in Groznyy in particular. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin Soskovets recording] Territorial or let us say district commandants' offices have been now created in Groznyy. Their main goal today is to maintain law and order. We believe that in the near future the Ministry of Interior of the Chechen Republic, as a structural division of a single Russian system of bodies of the interior, will become a driving force behind protecting law and order, including the protection of installations—both those that are to be restored and those that are ready to resume work. [end recording]

[Lenskiy] Oleg Soskovets suggested that, in order to protect industrial installations, a 2,000-man strong unit should be organized. Soskovets said he will visit Chechnya regularly, and left in Mozdok 11 federal deputy ministers to help the new Chechen government.

Political Parties Seek Army Support at Elections

LD2802184495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1809 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Leaders of the majority of Russian parties have initiated meetings with Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in order to gain support of servicemen at the upcoming elections, the defence minister told correspondents here today.

In his words, all of them promised priority attention to the needs of the Armed Forces in case their parties win the elections.

Grachev said that leader of the Democratic Choice of Russia Yegor Gaydar did not request his for a meeting.

The minister did not comment on his attitude to Russian political parties and a possibility of any pre-election agreements.

Military & Nuclear Issues

Grachev Confident of Army's Multiparty Support at Elections

LD2802220795 Moscow NTV in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Mikhail Svetlichnyy] The conference of the Russian Federation Armed Forces high command on the first results of the Chechen operation, which opened on Monday [27 February], is of course a headline event. We will cover the conference itself later, but first—something said casually in the corridor by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, which is extremely remarkable—both in its tone and its contents.

[Begin recording] [Grachev] Leaders of many parties and movements have been actively visiting me in the last few months. They are trying to get in contact, to prove to me that should they win the election, they would strive to

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restore a powerful, strong army in Russia. I do not want to make a list of them, but let me say this: All main leaders of parties and factions, except for the party of democrats headed by Yegor Gaydar, have already had meetings with me.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you.

[Grachev] You are welcome. [end recording]

Grachev: Army Officials To Discuss Chechnya 1 Mar

LD2802180995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—Russian defense ministry officials are to meet in a full meeting Wednesday [1 March] to discuss the preliminary results of the military campaign in Chechnya, Defense Chief Pavel Grachev told a meeting of senior ministry officials Tuesday.

He said the meeting would analyze all the errors and shortcomings of the operation as well as actions by individual commanders and army headquarters. But the minister made it clear there would be no implications.

Army officials would next meet Thursday at the Kubinka test site outside Moscow, he said, to discuss the tenacity of Russian-built armory including tanks and APCs in the light of "the Chechnya experience". Several units of armory destroyed by Chechen fighters have now been delivered to the site.

Grachev rejected a proposal on raising the army's combat capability by hiring professionals on a contract basis. He said Russia could not afford a professional army because of its present economic plight and the main emphasis would be on conscription, as before.

Grachev: No Professional Army in Present Economic State

LD2802184095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—"Russia will have no professional Army under such economic conditions. It is necessary to raise salaries of contractual servicemen by five-seven times in order to have professional troops," Russian Defence Minister General of the Army Pavel Grachev told a meeting at the Russian Defence Ministry here today. The meeting summed up preliminary results of the military operation in Chechnya.

In his words, the contractual servicemen did not show their worth in the Chechen operation and the Army should stake on the regular draft.

The minister described as useful the discussion of positive and negative aspects of the Chechen operation. He hopes that this experience will be taken into account in upgraded training of Russian troops. "The Army is sick and must be cured by common efforts," noted the minister. He urged the revival of the army and more attention to the Armed Forces on the part of society and all power structures. "If this is not done, we may lose the Armed Forces," stressed the minister.

Two books with the "classified" stamp were presented by Grachev at the meeting. These are the "Chronology of Chechen Developments" that covers daily operations of the troops starting from November 29, 1994, and the "Use of the Armed Forces to Disarm Illegal Armed Units in Chechnya". The books will be sent to troops command for studies and analysis.

Grachev: 'Cocktail Party Generals' Not Needed

LD2802151195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1354 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb—We cannot let the strength of the Russian Federation Armed Forces go below 1.7 million men, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told a conference of Armed Forces commanders convened to sum up the results of the Chechen operation today.

He said that by the time the operation to take Groznyy started, the manpower of the federal forces group had been increased to 38,000 men. The group was armed with 230 tanks, 454 armored personnel carriers, and 388 guns and mortars. Grachev estimated that by that time Dudayev's forces had in Groznyy about 15,000 men, 50 tanks, about 100 armored vehicles, 60 guns and mortars, and about 150 air defense missiles.

The defense minister was scathing about the cases of refusal to carry out orders that occurred at that time. "We do not need cocktail party generals anymore," he commented. "Those who made political statements and indulged in polemics about the expediency of putting troops into Chechnya will be punished. We will be carrying out a serious investigation of these instances," Grachev said.

Touching on the lessons of the Chechen operation, Grachev said it was necessary to make a number of adjustments in troop training and, in particular, to lay stress on rehearsing actions in local conflicts and wars. "We are a long way off from a world war, but local wars are a reality," the minister said. He proposed making changes in the program of training and focusing attention on combat actions in populated areas.

Grachev pointed out that the biggest losses during the operation to take Groznyy were sustained around the railway station. Errors by the command were responsible for about 50 percent of the losses in the entire operation to take the city.

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Shumeyko Says Dudayev Must Disarm

LD2802164395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—"Negotiations with politician Dudayev could have been held only before summer 1994 as long as there were no executions and cut-off heads. Now no negotiations but those on disarmament are possible," chairman of the Russian parliament's upper chamber Vladimir Shumeyko told correspondents here today. Shumeyko attended a meeting at the Russian Defence Ministry to sum up preliminary results of the Chechen operation.

Speaking on today's statement of the Russian defence minister that the Russian armed forces should have a strength of no less than 1.7 million men, Shumeyko said "one can agree with this conclusion bearing in mind none has named another index and it is based on calculations done by the minister".

The speaker said that the third reading of the draft budget law cuts spending on maintenance of the armed forces but increases spending on materiel orders, research and development. In his opinion, politicians and the power bodies must tackle the problem of army reform, while the armed forces must "do their own job - increase combat ability of troops."

Shipping of Spent Nuclear Fuel Said Safe, Necessary

MK2802132095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Feb 95 p 7

[Report by Igor Dvinskiy in the "Waste" column: "The Nuclear Stuffing of Northern Fleet Submarines Goes to Urals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the weekend an operation began in Murmansk to prepare for transportation to the Urals production association Mayak a consignment of spent nuclear fuel downloaded from the core of nuclear power plants of Northern Fleet submarines and civilian nuclear icebreakers. As SEGODNYA has learned, the first stage of transferring part of the waste from a temporary depot to special railway transport containers has been completed. So far the spent material from icebreakers has been prepared for shipping. The next stage is the shipping of waste from Russian Navy vessels. In the very near future all the fuel will be delivered by rail to Mayak for reprocessing and reutilization.

True, the radical-minded Russian "greens," primarily representatives of the Russian Greenpeace division, call into question the expediency of shipping spent nuclear fuel to the Urals. They believe that the technology of industrial processing of nuclear waste is ineffective and "anti-ecological." The "greens" suppose that such waste should be conserved in special repositories. As for Mayak, its very existence in the Urals, they say, is a time bomb, threatening catastrophe to the entire region.

Russian Federation Atomic Energy Ministry officials think that the shipment of spent nuclear fuel to the Urals is an objective necessity because in Russia's north there are no capacities for storing it over long periods, let alone processing. The problem is made worse by the fact that at the end of last year a whole number of submarines beyond their service life were decommissioned at the Northern Fleet. (At present all in all, more than 60 nuclear submarines have been put out of service in the Northern Fleet). Therefore the problem of disposing of their nuclear reactor core has arisen. Furthermore, highly radioactive waste from four Russian Arktika-class and two Taymyr-class icebreakers and the nuclear lighter/container carrier Sevmorput need constantly to be evacuated from the north.

The process of waste movement, according to Atomic Energy Ministry specialists, is quite safe and corresponds to all IAEA norms. The fuel is loaded into thick-walled glass-shaped containers with forged-steel cooling ribs. The heavy lids are secured with bolts. The container design provides for heat removal because spent fuel continues to emit heat as a result of radioactive decay of fissionable products. Filled containers are placed on special 12-axle rail flatcars. The rail complement is provided with reinforced military security and is given the "green light" in transit. In the recent period one accident with a special train has been recorded (not confirmed officially) in the area of Zheltyye Vody (Ukraine) . In addition, in September 1993 an incident occurred in Murmansk-60, when a container full of a highly radioactive substance was delivered for loading. When it was opened, eight people were affected.

The industrial processing of waste at the Mayak production association boils down to separating spent fuel from its "unburnt" components and "glassifying" it, with its subsequent burial. The latest incident at the enterprise, related to radioactive contamination of the environment, was an accident at a plant extracting and refining plutonium compounds, as a result of which radioactive aerosols were emitted into the atmosphere. An on-spot check at the time revealed numerous technological and organizational violations at the enterprise.

Regional Issues

Reportage, Commentary on Conflict in Chechnya

Dudayev Says Talks With Russia Useless

MK0103110095 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian, No. 15, 26 Feb-5 Mar 95 (Signed to press 28 Feb) pp 1, 4

[Interview with Dzhokhar Dudayev by Dmitriy Balburov: "Dzhokhar Dudayev: '...My Life Belongs to the Most High'"—place, date not given; first six paragraphs are introduction]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The personality of the Chechen president has recently been the subject of numerous rumors and legends, to which, incidentally, Russian officials have made no small contribution. Dzhokhar Dudayev is said to be hiding in Ingushetia (Dagestan, Azerbaijan), that he does not control the situation, and that he takes drugs for days on end. As a direct eyewitness I can say: The Chechen government meets in regular sessions. I managed to attend one such secret meeting.

A Chechen I know told his relative about my desire to meet with Dudayev, who spoke to a friend, and the friend told his relative who turned out to be a minister in the Chechen government. On the day of the appointment I arrived at Gudermes. I was put into an enclosed Moskvich station wagon. Some 40 minutes later the car stopped on the edge of an abandoned village. I sat in the dusty vehicle for nearly an hour. In the end I was let out and led into some office.

I was brought into a reception room and was told to wait. A few kilometers away, artillery was booming—apparently Chechen artillery because soon a Russian assault aircraft appeared and launched missiles. Behind the door a session of the Chechen government was in progress. In expectation of Dzhokhar Dudayev, who was just about to arrive, we smoked one cigarette after another and missed the moment of his arrival.

Dudayev took a glimpse at us and proceeded into the hall. A few minutes later his shouts and bangs on the table were heard. The Chechen president was not in good spirits. His bodyguard asked us to go to the corridor. I went out on a porch overlooking an open field. Suddenly, out of nowhere, a Russian aircraft appeared, and I dashed back. The assault plane made two passes at the village, but, fortunately, it did not open fire. At the door I was met by Dudayev's chief bodyguard Abu Arsan Ukayev.

"Where did you go? What for?" Then they explained to me: Had the pilot begun bombing the village, they would have thought that I was acting on a special mission from the Federal Counterintelligence Service.

Two hours later the session was over. Dzhokhar Dudayev went out into the corridor. He was clean shaven, trim, wearing a field service cap and a camouflage field jacket.

[Dudayev] I do not know what Russia is after but I do know that it plans the full annihilation of the Chechen people. This is a state problem. Russia decided to seize Chechnya in a blitzkrieg.... It did not have enough forces and it never will! Now, when the plan to complete the war within two hours has failed, all this talk began to the effect that Russia stands to gain from extending it.

[Balburov] The Russian prosecutor's office has opened a criminal case and the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] is looking for you everywhere.

[Dudayev] This FCS of yours is a madhouse. What can be more blasphemous than charging me with high treason? Your leaders are bluffing. They are simple hoods. Are you not afraid yourself to live with such a leadership?

[Balburov] Are you not afraid that people from the FCS will arrive disguised as journalists?

[Dudayev] They have already spent so much money from your treasury on me that the Russian people themselves have been left without pants. My life does not depend on either the FCS, or your government, or anybody. My life belongs to the Most High. Your authorities are chasing not only Dudayev—also children, women, old people.... You are all crazy!

[Balburov] I hope that you did not mean me in person?

[Dudayev] I mean the whole of Russia! You, Russians, are sick with Russianism [rusizm]. This is even more terrible than fascism. Only time will cure you.

[Balburov] How do you assess the current situation in Chechnya?

[Dudayev] A war is going on in Chechnya. War has its own rules and laws but you have not learned them, and you will have to face the consequences of your aggression in Chechnya, Abkhazia, Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan, Moldova, the Baltics, and Tajikistan, where you have drowned everything in blood!

The whole world has seen how dangerous Russia and the Russians are. The Russians are incapable of running the country without totalitarian regimes. The bayonet, death, blood, and fear—this is what Russia can bring.

[FBIS Translated Text] [Balburov] What are your forecasts for the negotiations with the Russian side?

[Dudayev] Who is there for me to negotiate with? With criminals? What sort of talks can one conduct with troop command? A congress of my people has demanded that I refrain from negotiations with President Yeltsin because he is the main culprit of the war and the annihilation of the Chechen people. A criminal case has been opened against him, and investigation is under way. Every year persons guilty before the Chechen people will be prosecuted.

[Balburov] Can the conflict be stopped now with the help of negotiations?

[Dudayev] This is impossible. This war will last for a long time: 50 years or more. The flames of war will spread. The appetites of the Russian regime are too great. A new spiral in empire building is beginning.

[Balburov] And still, do you think there are any healthy forces in Russia?

[Dudayev] No. Had there been healthy forces, there would be no chronic disease. Your are all sick—journalists too. There are certain healthy personalities, but not the masses.

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[Balburov] Who exactly?

[Dudayev] They will reveal themselves.

Grachev: 'Acts of Terrorism' To Be Expected

LD2802130395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1150 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The joint group of federal forces on the territory of the Chechen Republic has established control over the situation in the most important regions of the republic, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said today, speaking in the Defense Ministry to a conference of the top armed forces leaders convened to sum up the preliminary results of the Chechen operation. The conference began today and will continue for three days.

Pavel Grachev pointed out, among other things, that the federal troops are fully in control of the Chechen capital and that the process of eliminating individual groups of fighters is nearly complete. In his view, Groznyy was blockaded by an outer ring.

Pavel Grachev also said that [Dudayev's] fighters are reinforcing Gudermes and Shali, and organizing bases in the southern and southeastern districts of the republic. He said the rebels' resistance is becoming uncoordinated and ferocious. Armed groups are still being sent to Chechnya from some north Caucasus republics, and mercenaries are also coming from a number of Muslim states. In the minister's opinion, acts of terrorism are to be expected on the territory of Chechnya for some while yet.

Russia's armed forces have completed the first phase of stabilizing the situation in Chechnya. Sites for permanent stations have started to be made ready, Pavel Grachev said.

According to Grachev, Dudayev's armed formations numbered around 30,000 plus around 6,000 mercenaries before the operation started. Describing the situation on the eve of the operation, the defense minister noted that by that time a group of 23,800 federal forces had been created, including 19,000 from the armed forces. He said that the better trained units and formations went into the joint group.

"We never planned a blitzkrieg because we knew that in addition to the fighting men we were faced with the civilian population. This meant it was not possible to carry out textbook military operations," Grachev said. According to him, the plan was that Groznyy could be taken once the civilian population was brought out.

On the initial phase of the operation, the defense minister said that between 11 and 26 December 1994 troops were moved forward and Groznyy blockaded. Over that period, he said, the commanders made poor use of their reconnaissance units and some officers wasted their command skills in running the deployed units. There were difficulties in supplying troops with specialized weapons and night sights.

Intelligence Chiefs Cited on Dudayev's Whereabouts

LD2802160095 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1454 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] almost always knows where Dzhokhar Dudayev is located and the counterintelligence men have no doubt that in the end he will be caught, FCS Deputy Director Valentin Sobolev and Military Counterintelligence chief General Molyakov said on Tuesday at a news conference.

Dudayev, who, in Sobolev's words, knows that the price on his head is very high, continually changes his whereabouts and is well guarded. As the FSC spokesmen said, according to their data the leader of the Chechen separatists is guarded directly by 12-15 bodyguards from among his relatives and another 200-250 armed retinue. To catch Dudayev, already put on the wanted list by the Russian Prosecutor's Office, will require a whole combat operation, according to the spokesmen of the leadership of the FCS.

Army Conterintelligence Frees 67 Hostages

LD2802184895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—The army counterintelligence has freed 67 Russian hostages since the start of military operations in Chechnya, the head of the FSK [FCS] military department, Colonel General Aleksey Molyakov, told a news conference in Moscow Tuesday. The last Russian serviceman had been freed in the village Samashkiy Monday.

The prisoners were exchanged, bought off or freed by force, he said.

According to FSK Deputy Director Valentin Sobolev, the military operation in Chechnya has left about 1,200 Russian servicemen dead, including two counterintelligence officers: Captain Sergey Gromov, posthumously granted the title of Hero of Russia, and Major Grigoriy Medvedev.

The casualties among pro-Dudayev militants ranged from 10,000 to 15,000 people, according to various sources. Sobolev said Dudayev was surrounded by a group of fanatics. It was no use to hold talks with them, he added. Dudayev's personal guard consists of 10-12 closest relatives and 200-250 well-trained and armed militants.

Answering questions, Sobolev said the November 28 1994 missile strike on the Groznyy airport followed the

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landing of three planes which delivered arms to Chechnya. However, he declined to name the region or country-consignor saying it was a former Soviet republic.

Asked about measures taken by the Ingush and Dagestani leaders to prevent Chechen militants from penetrating into and acting on their territories, Sobolev declined to comment on the issue saying it "required a political assessment."

Sobolev Says Groznyy Cleared of Illegal Units

LD2802184595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1748 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Semyonova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The city of Groznyy has been basically cleaned of illegal armed units, the main period of combat operations has been finalized and "constitutional order must now be restored with peaceful methods," Deputy Director of the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] Valentin Sobolev told a meeting of the counter-intelligence leaders today upon his return from Chechnya.

Sobolev delivered a report on the North-Caucasian situation and held a news conference together with head of the service's military counter-intelligence department Aleksey Molyakov to focus on the role of counter-intelligence bodies in restoration of constitutional order in Chechnya.

In his words, elders of several Chechen settlements have requested the federal troops command to prevent repetition of Groznyy tragedy in their populated localities but this cannot be done in some places. Sobolev noted that Groznyy now "reminds of Stalingrad after battles of the Second World War".

The best strongholds of the Dudayev regime are Argun, Gudermes, Samashkiy and Bamut, said the general. All of them are strongly reinforced. It is "somehow possible to settle the problem peacefully" in Gudermes and Argun, but "peaceful settlement is doubtful" for Samashkiy and Bamut.

The localities have been left by civilians. They are defended by armed fanatics "of a new generation raised by Dudayev and his circle," said Sobolev. "The opinion of elders means nothing to these people, they do not hesitate to violate all traditions and laws". However, many civilians are ready "to bury their arms".

The counter-intelligence bodies are working to restore constitutional order in the republic. They are taking measures against acts of sabotage, preparing daily reports on the current situation for the Russian leaders and fulfilling special missions, including identification of foreign mercenaries and liberation of POWs.

Some 67 POWs have been freed, said the general. It is an uneasy task that is being solved with different methods: From payment of ransom through exchange of POWs on conditions set by the militants. Sometimes POWs are freed in combat operations.

Head of the service's military counter-intelligence department Aleksey Molyakov dwelt on the activities of his department. Now that the Foreign Intelligence Service and the main intelligence department are unable to work on Chechen territory as an integral part of the Russian Federation, his department is gaining information on political and military plans of the Dudayev supporters, revealing their strongholds and creating intelligence groups sent inside Chechen areas controlled by the illegal armed units.

Several military counter-intelligence officers have been killed when on mission but none has applied for a transfer from the conflict zone, stressed the general. Captain Sergey Gromov was awarded a posthumous title of Hero of the Russia by a presidential decree of February 27.

Sobolev: Soldiers, Chechens 'Grown Tired of War'

LD2802184295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1809 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Kostromina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—"There will be no guerrilla war in Chechnya in the nation-wide form" despite claims of Dudayev and his circle, Deputy Director of the Russian Federal Counter-Intelligence Service [FCS] Valentin Sobolev told a news conference here today. In his words, "both Russian soldiers and Chechens have grown tired of the war".

The general noted that only a group of fanatical supporters of Dudayev is ready to fight, but "unfortunately, guerrilla methods are being used". He cited as an example the bridge across the Gerzel River on the Dagestan border blasted on Monday night and other acts of sabotage which "are signs of a guerrilla war".

It seems a number of terrorist acts in Chechnya will not be prevented, said Sobolev. He added that the day of revenge announced by Dudayev supporters on February 23 was prevented by the counter-intelligence staffers.

Fighting Intensifies Between Chechens, Federal Troops

LD2802183195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The following report of the Russian Government press service was circulated here today:

"According to a report of the mobile information center, clashes between the Russian federal troops and the illegal armed units have intensified over the past 24 hours. The federal troops' positions are located one kilometer away from Argun. The troops used artillery and mortar fire to

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suppress fire nests of militants on the town outskirts. Artillery was also used to suppress the fire nests and areas of militants' concentration near the populated localities of Goity, Komsomolskoye and Alkhan-Yurt.

"Local residents met a delegation of soldiers' mothers in Mozdok. The meeting resulted in the mothers' refusal from visiting Groznyy.

"Residents of several Chechen populated localities, including Achkhoy-Martan, offered to ensure lawfulness and prevent penetration of militants into their settlements by their own means. The Russian troops' command fully supports such initiatives bearing in mind they will help to avoid bloodshed and material damage of the population.

"A state commission headed by First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets has ended its trip to Groznyy and Mozdok.

"According to Soskovets, time has come to think over and start the restoration of Groznyy. He thinks that the federal government should render comprehensive assistance to the Provisional Council headed by Umar Avturkhanov and the government headed by S. Khadzhiyev in selection of personnel and restoration of the Chechen economy".

Interior Troops Shell Chechen Villages

LD2802153495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1522 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Feb 28 (INTERFAX)—Russian interior troops, supported by the army, continued to disarm illegal Chechen armed groupings over the past 24 hours.

They established and perfected systems for defending buildings and districts of Groznyy, confiscated weapons from the population, eliminated illegal armed groupings, created conditions for the normal work of government bodies and blocked possible routes of militant movement from regions bordering Dagestan and Chechnya.

"The artillery lit up the landscape and shelled the enemy near the villages of Aldy, Chernorechye, Shali, Chechen-Aul, Argun and Komsomolskoye," says a report from the Interior Ministry's Public Relations Center.

In the first tactical direction, Post No. 15 was shelled and had to open return fire. In the second tactical direction observers of control Post No. 8, guarding the bridge across the Terek, spotted a raft floating downstream, which was destroyed. In the fourth tactical direction one person who was watching Russian bases, was detained. Planned operations were carried out in the other tactical directions.

During reconnaissance and search operations, and work to maintain law and order, the federal troops sustained the following losses:

Defense Ministry - no one killed or wounded;

Interior Troops - two servicemen killed, no one wounded;

Interior Ministry - no one killed, 8 wounded.

Thirty-two militants, one tank and one armored vehicle were destroyed and an ammunition depot eliminated. Two automatic guns, two mines, 14 booby traps and 1,100 cartridges were confiscated.

Grachev: Troops To Stay 'For a Long Time Yet'

LD2802234795 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2052 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The military have rounded up the preliminary results of the operation in Chechnya at a conference of senior officials of the Armed Forces held in the Defense Ministry.

[Unidentified correspondent] Defense Minister Pavel Grachev described the capture of Groznyy and the elimination of individual criminal groups as only the first step toward restoring constitutional order in Chechnya. According to military intelligence, Dudayev's army lost 7,000 fighters in the fighting for Groznyy, and another 14,000 are now scattered throughout the territory of the republic. That means that it is still too early for the Russian troops to leave Chechnya.

[Begin Grachev recording] At the moment Interior Ministry units will not be able to cope with their tasks independently without the support of the Armed Forces, and a part of our Armed Forces will have to be there for a long time yet to provide direct support for interior troop operations.

Small groups of bandit formations will be operating in various regions of the North Caucasus, not only in Chechnya. [end recording]

[Correspondent] So local war is a reality. In Pavel Grachev's view, the Russian Army should be supplied with new military hardware and weapons as soon as possible. Speaking about the presence of bandit formations supporting the Chechen regime in republics neighboring Chechnya, Grachev proposed that one battle-worthy division ready to isolate the fighters should be introduced in each of them. [passage omitted] [video shows scenes of Chechnya fighting, Grachev at news conference; Yarov, Shumeyko, Lebed seen in audience]

Russian Troops Caught Selling Arms to Chechens

LD0103093995 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0752 GMT 1 Mar 95

[Video report by Aleksandr Onosovskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Every day tens of firearms, ranging from double-barrel sporting guns to heavy machine-guns and antitank rockets are being confiscated

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in various regions of Chechnya. The main task of the Interior Ministry operatives is to prevent replenishment of Dudayev's arsenals with weapons from neighboring republics in the north Caucasus. But so far it has proved impossible to stop the arms traders' activities completely. The temptation of huge profits proves too strong for some. The most disturbing fact is that some militiamen and Russian Army servicemen have been caught engaged in the bloody business. This major, a deputy battalion commander, and this lieutenant, a platoon commander, were caught red-handed near Vladikavkaz. They were trying to sell ten boxes of various ammunition, over 400 grenades, Makarov pistols, and other weapons. The most amazing thing is that in a few days' time the unit in which these commanders served will be sent to Chechnya.

What will happen to these businessmen in uniforms now?

[Begin R.Sh. Yeshugaov, deputy head of the Main Directorate for Public Order of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs in charge of north Caucasus, recording] Our approach in this matter is unambiguous: An investigation is under way, and those involved have been taken into custody. [end recording]

In addition to weapons, the investigation groups on the ground have of late laid their hands on a vast amount of various documents. Even an incomplete study of these shows that Dudayev's regime did not want any compromise with the federal authorities. Their course was toward Chechnya's complete secession from Russia. Banknotes with the portrait of the retired general have already been printed in France, and were to be put into circulation this year. Numerous decrees and instructions aimed at creating an efficient Chechen army have been found. There are even lists of those who had received weapons. It is, however, too early to speak about many things: An investigation is under way.

Dagestan Border Checkpoint Shelled From Chechnya

LD0103100895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian, during the "Novosti" newscast at 0852 GMT on 1 March, reports that the Gerzel checkpoint on the border between Dagestan and Chechnya came under heavy gunfire from Chechnya at dawn today. The wounded have been taken to a hospital in nearby Khasavyurt.

The report is accompanied by a video of the checkpoint, which is surrounded by barbed wire and said to be surrounded by minefields to resist the onslaught by the extremists, who have recently blown up bridges and "other" vital facilities. The announcer says that "the situation in the area is under control by the operations staff of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs in Khasavyurt."

Tatarstan President Previews Elections

954F1531B Kazan KAZANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 24 Feb 95 p 4

[Interview with M. Shaymiyev, president of the Republic of Tatarstan, by L. Ageyeva, KAZANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI correspondent; place and date not given: "Mintimer Shaymiyev: 'The Voters Have Learned To Differentiate Demagogy from Truth, and Good Intentions from Specific Actions'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **During the election campaign our correspondent L. Ageyeva asked M. Shaymiyev, president of the republic, several questions. We offer this interview for your attention.**

[Ageyeva] You may have noticed that KAZANSKIYE VEDOMOSTI carries the rubric "Rating of Tatarstan's Political Figures." A mail survey, of course, could not be representative; nevertheless, it made it possible to clarify the normality of the preelection political campaign and to understand the extensive connections of several facts. It is a great pity that the politicians and sociologists were not interested in our materials.

Do you follow publications like this? If you do, what information is of value to you?

[Shaymiyev] Although not one sociological survey can disclose fully the true state of affairs, they must not be ignored, inasmuch as they do nonetheless reflect public opinion and the pulse of social life to one degree or another.

I also have the fortunate opportunity to juxtapose and compare data from such surveys acquired through the mail. And indeed, given any opportunity, on any trip to cities and rayons and visits to industrial, agricultural, and trade enterprises I try to meet with people and learn about their mood, life, and everyday problems.

I am impressed by the fact that our policy in the main is supported by various strata of the population and a majority of the political movements and parties.

For me as the president, and as a person, the most valuable thing is the people's trust. Any president and official who loses this trust must leave—this is unambiguous. And I am not saying this for the first time.

[Ageyeva] It is unlikely that anyone today will guess the outcome of the elections in Tatarstan in advance, but the president surely will have some kind of predictions on this score. What do you think, which political organizations have chances in the elections? From your standpoint, whom will the people vote for: representatives of parties, or specific persons?

[Shaymiyev] You almost answered your own question yourself. Really, no one today can guess the outcome of the elections in our republic. If I express some of my own

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forecasts on the threshold of the elections, some could even assess this as interference by the president in election matters.

I know that these elections, which are being conducted on a multiparty basis, will be the most democratic in our history. The nomination of candidates, their registration, and other measures that are associated with this very important political event are not taking place by an edict from above but on the basis of the will of our people in compliance with all the norms of the constitution and laws on elections. This is a big victory for democracy. This is in first place.

Second, I think that the voters have in recent years gone through political school. They have learned to recognize who is who and to differentiate demagogy from the truth, and good intentions from specific actions. The most important criterion here is the effectiveness of an activity: political, economic, administrative, social, etc. I think that people should vote for those whose words are not at variance with their deeds, and for whom it is not personal ambition that prevails but a great responsibility for the state of affairs in his own republic.

[Ageyeva] After the adoption of the laws on elections at the last session of the Supreme Soviet, the newspapers, including ours, published a number of critical materials. In particular, we carried an article by city soviet deputy I. Kotov. The representatives of political parties and deputies of various soviets claim that the laws are less democratic than in Russia. What would you say to your opponents?

[Shaymiyev] I am inclined to rely on the collective mind, in particular, that of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, which approved the laws on elections to the State Soviet and the local organs of authority. But these laws are aimed at constructive work and supporting the real sovereignty of the people under modern conditions.

I would ask those who are unhappy with them: Are they perhaps more comfortable with a return to the past, or to extreme radicalism? But to avoid various errors, at times the very gross errors that are committed by the Center, we are moving logically toward a genuinely democratic and civilized society, step by step, while analyzing the obstructions of the past.

After familiarizing myself with the preliminary data on the candidates nominated for deputy by the individual parties, I was astonished and convinced once more of the correctness of the decisions of the Supreme Soviet concerning elections on party lists at this stage in multiethnic Tatarstan. I will cite several facts as corroboration. In the list of candidates nominated by the electoral bloc Equality of Rights and Legality, the absolute majority—people of only one nationality—are Russians, but the list from the Republican Party of Tatarstan has only people of Tatar nationality.

These facts again speak to the point that the leaders of the indicated parties say one thing and do another.

In a word, the two extremes are completely unsuitable for a multiethnic stable Tatarstan. It is not difficult to imagine what will happen if one of these parties comes to power. This probability is great given elections according to party lists.

[Ageyeva] A. Saliy, leader of the Communist Party of Tatarstan, sent an open letter to you containing sharp criticism of the decision on redrawing the Kazan borders. Did you get it? It must be said that many did not approve this decision, considering that it was adopted specially before the elections.

The style of the open letter has been very popular in the press recently. We have published such several letters. How do you assess this channel of communications of the authorities with the citizens? Do you think that the local mass media are a reliable source of objective information about all events and the frame of mind that is present in the republic?

[Shaymiyev] I get a lot that is interesting and useful to me from the materials of the mass media, including the local mass media. I try to look through all the newspapers and journals personally. Unfortunately, there is not enough time for all the material in fat journals.

The very first requirement for the mass media is objectivity and truthfulness in published material. Even small shifts in emphasis can lead to a distortion of the facts and result in an undesirable public reaction and incorrect steps. Journalists should be on guard against cheap sensationalism if they want to enjoy the respect of the readers, viewers, and listeners.

Yes, I saw A. Saliy's letter about changing the borders of Kazan rayons.

The changes in the administrative division of Kazan were dictated by the necessity to improve the work of the social and consumer services of the population. In connection with the claim that changing the borders was done specially before the elections, as if to mix up people's maps, I would ask when is a better time to do this than before the elections? Only in this case will the newly elected deputies have the opportunity to work in the electoral organs of rayon authority for an entire term.

As for "open letters," I think that this style of journalism has the right to exist, like any other. I also receive letters like this.

But no two letters are alike. I regard some of them as information—and only some as a publicly significant request whose resolution requires my interference. It also happens that individual letters surface during times of strong emotional agitation, of which there is quite a lot in our difficult times. Naturally, my reaction is also appropriate. Except perhaps that I do not have the right to yield to emotion. Emotion is a poor adviser in our business.

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[Ageyeva] Using this opportunity, I cannot help but inquire about your opinion of our newspaper. In my opinion, this is the only publication in the republic whose workers do not receive their wages on time. Perhaps this fact depends on the nature of the relations between the chief of administration and the editor in chief of the newspaper?

[Shaymiyev] Here is what I will say on the substance of the problem you raise in your question.

Regarding the mutual relations of the founders and the publications they have established, a lot has been said and is being said that it makes no sense to repeat. I will say just one thing: The founder has the right to demand from his publication an objective elucidation of the policy it is conducting. But he is also obligated to know the needs of the publication and to create the necessary conditions for its fruitful activity. Their mutual relations are regulated by the founder's contract established in accordance with the law on the mass media.

Unfortunately, we still do not have our own law on this question; therefore, we are using the law of the Russian Federation.

Specifically about Kazan departments, I will say that such intellectuals as Lyubov Ageyeva and Kamil Iskakov will develop their creation as a fitting exponent of the democratic changes that are occurring in society.

Maritime Kray Duma Session Detailed

954F1531A Vladivostok UTRO ROSSII in Russian 24 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by Damir Gaynutdinov: "We Really Do Have a Lot of Land, But This Does Not Mean That It Is Unnecessary, and Especially That It Is Foreign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Of the 10 questions examined by the Kray Duma on the second day of the meeting, it has to be supposed that the most responsible one for the deputies was "concerning the impermissibility of violating the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation in Maritime Kray during the demarcation of the Russian and Chinese border." The question is unambiguously categorical in such a formulation, but, nevertheless, it is more reasonable than the promised demands concerning the denouncement of the intergovernmental agreement of 16 May 1991.

Major General V. Rozov, military adviser of the Russian delegation to the Border Demarcation Commission, explained to the deputies (and apparently not only to them) that in international legal practice denouncement is only permissible for anyone in a state of war. But there is no need in our case, inasmuch as the aforementioned agreement concerns the Russian-Chinese border on the territories of Khabarovsk Kray and Amursk, Chita, and Yevreysk Autonomous Oblasts, where the question has been resolved by mutual consent.

"Is it necessary to destroy an entire multiapartment house," Valeriy Mikhaylovich figuratively argued his position, "if it displeases only one tenant?"

Although, as it turned out in his discussion, that person has his own reasons for dissatisfaction. According to the Peking Treaty of 1860, the Russian-Chinese border on its Maritime sector was attested "to be eternal." Therefore it was proposed that concerning the negotiations, the Duma submit a request that the government put an end to all types of demarcation work in Ussuriyskiy, Khankayskiy, and Khasanskiy Rayons. Which it did.

Then this same "cover" of the executive authority by the representative authority occurred, about which our governor spoke when answering the question about whether he needed a Duma at all. I hope that all Maritime residents are also solidly with him, but there is still a question for Yevgeniy Ivanovich. V. Rozov explained that not one deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR was against ratification of the 1991 agreement. But why was he silent then? Why did Baykalov, Barybin, Kopeyka, Sergeyev, Yakimenko, and others of today's Muscovites remain silent?

It seems to me that it was safer for the chairman of an artel than it is now for a governor. At least, "according to information received from IZVESTIYA, the Chinese side is satisfied for the time being with Moscow's official position as stated by Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who declared that an agreement on the border will be implemented no matter what." We know how the president removes his officials in the localities, even those elected by the people. With a promotion, of course.

And this discussion is not at all about the past. Excuse me, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, but when you constantly complain about Moscow, we recall that you are also our deputy today in the Federation Council. To whom do you complain? Will something like this not happen again?

...The Duma approved those representatives who were selected by its permanent commissions: N. Litvinov (credentials), N. Sadomskiy (budget), Yu. Didenko (economic development), V. Gelver (state construction and local self-government), M. Savin (use of natural resources, land, and labor protection). The commission on social policy and the protection of human rights was equally divided in its opinions; therefore, it will establish its leader a little later, when all its deputies are present.

The selection of Litvinov and Didenko is natural. Nikolay Illarionovich and Yuriy Grigoryevich headed commissions of the same name in the kray council. They are experienced and competent. The first impression of the rest is also pleasant. I especially want to comment on N. Sadomskiy. Previously as chief of the financial office of the kray administration, he made it abundantly clear to dilettante-deputies of the council just what a budget is, all-round concern for which is their first duty, and they were also supposed to be able to implement it. However,

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desires were excessive. And at first 60 percent of the current deputies turned out at the beginning to be eager to exercise some control.

I think that Nikolay Grigoryevich will not only be the controller of his former deputy, Sergey Vasilyevich Tereshkov, who is now chief of the finance office, but also a good adviser for him. Of course, it is necessary to control expenditures, but it is even more useful to suggest how to multiply incomes, and to be able to combine the letter and spirit of the law.

Incidentally, Sergey Vasilyevich presented information at the meeting concerning the formation of the 1995 budget. While waiting for his turn at the rostrum, he shared his distress with the author that everyone is trying only to divide and redivide, but production everywhere is stalling, and soon there will be nobody to collect taxes from.

The Duma decided in a positive way the questions "on granting privileges to enterprises of the Ministry of Health Services and the Medical Industry in the payment of taxes on profits" and "on exempting health services institutions of the kray from payment of a tax on the acquisition of motor vehicle resources." Deputies N. Kantemirov and A. Aleksashkina, who provided information on this score, appealed for financial assistance for the agro-industrial complex and for health services. It is possible to understand Nikolay Alekseyevich and Antonina Petrovna, but how can help be given. The decision was made to think about this.

The Duma adopted the decree "On Exempting Commodities Imported into the Customs Territory of the Russian Federation for the Purposes of Eliminating the Consequences of Accidents, Disasters, and Natural Calamities from the Imposition of Customs Duties." Canadian firms are restoring bridges that were washed away in Partizanskiy Rayon, and we applied such duties that it made no sense for them to work for us and against themselves.

On the same day the deputies approved the Directive on the Coat of Arms of Maritime Kray and Its Flag.

It is proposed to hold the third meeting of the Duma on 15-16 March. A time of painstaking work on important questions of the kray's social and economic condition is approaching.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Issues Edict to Further Free Prices

LD0103110695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1027 GMT 1 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The Russian president issued a decree on Wednesday [1 March] ordering a further liberalisation of prices from state control and promising punishment to those monopolies which would violate the government-fixed prices on their goods.

The decree rules "to recognise as necessary a further liberalisation of prices. To carry out state regulation of prices mostly and only on the products of monopolies", the presidential decree says and instructs the government to decrease the list of state-fixed prices.

The president ruled that monopolies which establish higher prices than the state-fixed ones are to be stripped of the difference and subject to a fine in the same amount. In case of a second violation, the fine is to double.

"Persons responsible for violations of the legislation on state- regulated prices are to face responsibility in the established order", the decree says adding that the measures are envisaged to "further promote economic reforms and raise the efficiency of the market economy".

Edict Cancels Tax, Duty Privileges

LD0103110095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1040 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—The Russian president issued a decree on Wednesday [1 March] ordering to cancel tax and duty privileges and saying that such privileges can be granted in future only by the head of state.

"The government of the Russian Federation has to submit in two weeks proposals on cancelling earlier adopted decisions of the president on granting privileges in paying taxes, customs duties and other obligatory payments to the state budget", says the decree "on measures to strengthen the financial discipline in implementing the state budget".

Besides, the president ordered that decisions of government bodies "resulting in budget expenses not envisaged in the fiscal year and decreasing the planned budget revenues" can be passed only by a presidential decree upon a submission from the government. The decrees are to fix concrete terms, expenses and privileges and name the budget articles which are to be decreased or sources of additional revenues.

Inflations Hits 2.9 Percent in Second Half of Feb

MM2802133195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Feb 95 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Living in the Caucasus Is Costly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The rate of inflation in the second half of February remained fairly high. In the period 14-21 February inflation stood at 2.9 percent, 9.4 percent since the beginning of the month. BIZNES-TASS was told this by the Russian Government Center for the Economic Situation.

Food prices are still rising. In the above period they rose by 2.3 percent, while prices of nonfood goods and paid

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consumer services rose by 2.7 and 7.2 percent respectively. Should the prevailing economic situation persist, inflation in February will total around 12 percent.

The difference in consumer price movements between various economic regions was negligible—1.3 percentage points. The North Caucasus, Far East, and Northern Regions took the lead when it came to increases in consumer prices with rises of 3.3-3.6 percent in respect of consumer goods and services. The greatest change in the price of basic goods and services was recorded in the West Siberian Region—up 2.3 percent.

The change in consumer prices of goods and services in Moscow and St. Petersburg was lower than the average Russian rate of inflation—up 2.4 and 2.7 percent respectively.

The average cost of the basket of 19 most important foods was 150,000 rubles a month, up 2.6 percent on a week ago.

Capital Outflow Estimated at $1.5-2 Billion a Month

MM2802134295 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Billions Have Flown Abroad and Are Continuing To Do So"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Experts estimate that the total illegal capital outflow from Russia abroad in 1994 stood at around $50 billion, a spokesman for the leadership of the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Main Administration for Economic Crime, said in an interview with INTERFAX. At the same time the amount of money being taken abroad every month is still rising by $1.5-2 billion.

Analyst Says $5 Billion Spent on Defense in Chechnya

LD2802185095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—Currently expenditures for the operation of the federal forces in Chechnya are about $5 billion, that is 2.5 percent of Russia's GNP, Director of the Institute of Economic Analysis Andrey Illarionov reported at a press conference in Moscow Tuesday [28 February].

In his words, the calculations were made on the basis of official data on the expenditures of Russia's Defense Ministry for the operation in Chechnya beginning with last December and do not include assets needed to restore the republic's economy.

As Illarionov said, expenditures for defense which amounted to 4.1 percent of the GNP over 11 months of 1994 jumped to 6.6 percent last December, which resulted in growth of the federal budget deficit for the whole of 1994 to 10.4 percent of the GNP.

Meanwhile, Illarionov indicated that there occurred a certain turning point in inflation trends and in the rate of growth of prices in February, which reached 17.8 percent in January, will be about 12 percent. It may drop in March to 8-10 percent and in April to 6-8 percent, Illarionov thinks.

'Russia Forward' Leader Views Economy With Pessimism

LD2802190395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1811 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chelyabinsk February 28 TASS—"My view of the economic situation of Russia is pessimistic enough," said State Duma deputy, president of the movement "Russia Forward" Boris Fedorov.

Fedorov had a meeting here today with Chelyabinsk region's city and district administrators, industrialists, entrepreneurs, financiers, and high school teachers and students.

The inflation rate has reached 30 percent over the past two months, and a threefold rise of prices is expectable in 1995, Fedorov explained. It is for this reason that he had voted against the passing of the present unrealistic budget, Fedorov said. According to Fedorov, the government has no concept for handling the current situation.

Fedorov described the movement "Russia Forward" as a programme of common sense. He said the programme shows how solutions to problems of a market economy may coexist with social programmes and a strong state with democracy.

Over 2 Million Russians Seeking Employment

LD0103105595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1029 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lilya Kuznetsova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—As of March 1, a total of 2,041,200 Russians registered with agencies of the national employment service in search for a job. More than 1,710,000 of them were officially recognized as unemployed, said Irina Milkhina, who is in charge of press service of the National Employment Service.

According to her, unemployment level, or the ratio of the number of registered unemployed men and women to the number of employable people amounts to 2.1 percent, which is twice larger than it was in the beginning of last year.

It must be noted that employment levels vary substantially from region to region. For instance, unemployment level is at its lowest in the Smolensk region (0.3 percent), the city of Moscow (0.4 percent), the Belgorod region, the Orenburg region and the Republic of Tatarstan (0.7 percent each).

Unemployment level is at its worst, however, in the Ivanovo region (8.7 percent) and the Republic of Ingushetia (8.2 percent).

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Situation in the Pskov, Yaroslavl, Vladimir, Kostroma, Kirov regions and such component republics of the Russian Federation as Kalmykia, Mordovia and Chuvashia is also bad in this respect.

Union Head Urges Customs, VAT Preferences for Sea Ports

MK2802135095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Feb 95 p 2

[Report by Andrey Nikolayev under the "Free Labor" rubric: "Foreign Ships Bypass Russian Ports. Dockers Union Demands Favorable Customs Regime and Abolition of VAT"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Vasilyev, chairman of the Russian Dockers Union, has issued a statement expressing his concern over the decreasing competitiveness of Russian ports and steamship companies over the past several years, which, the statement says, causes the reduction in the amounts of freight transported and processed "to the advantage of foreign ports and ship owners."

In the trade union leader's view, the decrease in competitiveness has been caused by the introduction of value-added tax [VAT] on services in Russian seaports. As a result, foreign ships enter Russian ports much more rarely. This measure caused a loss of about 1.92 billion rubles in the first three quarters of last year alone in the Kaliningrad port.

It turned out that a similar situation has come about in virtually all Russian ports open to foreign ships. For instance, according to the Russian Federation Transport Ministry's sea transport department, for this reason Russian ports lost a total of 77.5 billion rubles last year, while the domestic fleet, which was advised in writing by foreign firms of economic measures to be taken against them as retaliation, and the state lost up to $47 million.

Particularly worrying is the situation in the northern regions where, Mr. Vasilyev said, because of the inadequate financing of the freight transportation to the Far North areas ports have found themselves "in a disastrous position" not only financially, but also socially since the drop in freight processing volumes causes mass layoffs among dockers.

Mr. Vasilyev said that the Dockers Union demands in this regard that the Russian Federation Government take all the requisite measures to attract Russian foreign trade freight to domestic ports by setting preferential railway tariffs, and insists that ports be given most-favored customs status and that VAT on all work and services in ports be abolished.

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International Affairs

Foreign Minister Favors CE Membership

LD2802145095 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1335 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Membership in the Council of Europe will cost Ukraine approximately $3 million. Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko reported this at a briefing on 28 February.

The Ukrainian Foreign Minister denied rumors that Ukraine is not interested in entering the Council of Europe. "We do not want to be the last country to enter the Council of Europe. In my opinion, the Council of Europe is no less interested in Ukraine than Ukraine is in membership of it," Hennadiy Udovenko noted.

The foreign minister reported that Ukraine has sent a letter to Daniel Tarschys, Secretary-General of the Council of Europe, about the measures which Ukraine is taking on the path to entering this international organization.

Letters have also been sent to the foreign ministers of Council of Europe member countries asking them to facilitate Ukraine's entry to the Council of Europe.

According to Hennadiy Udovenko, Ukraine has fulfilled all of the conditions for membership in this organization: democratic presidential and parliamentary elections have taken place; Ukraine does not have territorial claims on its neighbors; the only remaining problem is the adoption of a new constitution.

Zhirinovskiy Interview Evokes Nationalists' Appeal

WS0103112395 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 0815 GMT 1 Mar 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russian Liberal-Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's interview to VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, in which one of Russia's most odious political figures, but likeliest contender for presidency, said that the Russian Army would invade Ukraine to station its garrisons in all locations which could offer resistance to the (Moscow) Central authority, triggered a brash statement by the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists which urges Ukraine's immediate withdrawal from the CIS, suspension of Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament and talks with Russia aimed at the Black Sea Fleet's division and signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and Russia.

Black Sea Fleet Dispute Status Viewed

MM0103115395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 01 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by Anatoliy Polyakov: "Black Sea Fleet: To Be Divided in Two Nonetheless?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Crimea and the division of the Black Sea Fleet are topics that have not left Ukraine's newspapers and are constantly being raised on television and radio. The subject has become particularly sensitive since Russian First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets' visit to Kiev and the signing of the Declaration on the Future of the Black Sea Fleet.

Ukrainian politicians and military leaders report victoriously that they have gotten their way—Russia has abandoned its demand for the city of Sevastopol to be considered the fleet's base. Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, Ukrainian deputy defense minister, stressed during a conversation with journalists that the declaration clearly enshrines the fact that only the base in Sevastopol rather than the city itself will be the Russian Fleet's base. And that means that only the moorings, the anchorages, and the hangars will come under Russian jurisdiction rather than the city. What is more, Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, expressed readiness to hand over the bases in Izmail, Nikolayev, and Ochakov to the Ukrainian Navy while the latter in turn is willing to hand over 71 installations to the Black Sea Fleet. But only once treaties have been concluded in each specific case. If a Russian ship needs a mooring or an anchorage, Vice Admiral Vladimir Beskorovaynyy, commander of the Ukrainian Navy, said during a press conference, we conclude a treaty and stipulate the fee as we do with the Turks or the Americans, and the ship can berth. In his view, the question of the fleet's division will still not be closed even once a treaty has been concluded between Russia and Ukraine.

Nor has one of the main problems been resolved as yet: For how long will Ukraine allow Russia to lease the naval bases? The Russians are suggesting 99 years while Ukraine believes that the Black Sea Fleet should be stationed on its territory for just five to seven years. Ukraine itself, once it has received part of the fleet, will probably try to sell it: It just does not have the funds for its upkeep....

CIS Trade Unionists Pledge Protection of Rights

WS0103112495 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 0815 GMT 1 Mar 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Ukrainian capital hosted a meeting of Ukrainian, Belarusian, Kazakh, Moldovan and Russian automaking and agricultural engineering trade-unionists which resulted in a resolution to joint efforts to frustrate what the meeting's participants referred to as their respective national governments' offensive against the workers' lawful rights.

Rocket Designer Awaits U.S. License for Launching Satellite

WS2802122495 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 1045 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Current Events" feature]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Dnipropetrovsk-based Yuzhnoye design bureau is waiting for a license from the American concern, Space System Loral, which will allow the use of Ukrainian-made Zenit rocket carriers [booster rockets] for launching satellites under the international communications project, Global Star. In November 1994, Yuzhnoye won a tender for the right to launch two rockets. Each of the Zenit rocket carriers is capable of launching 24 retransmitters at a cost of about $30 million.

National Affairs

Kuchma Addresses Lvov Officials on Reform

WS0103113095 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 18 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Leonid Kuchma at an unidentified conference in Lvov on 13 February: "Profound Economic Reform in Ukraine Is on the Way To Reviving the Economy and Ensuring Ukraine's Sovereignty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Participants!

I am sincerely glad to meet with you, leaders of local bodies of power, organizers of the economic and cultural-educational life in your oblast.

It was the destiny's will that you and me have to be in the forefront of the struggle for Ukraine during the most responsible period of its history. Today the development of the events in our society, in many respects, depends on nothing other than the subjective influence exercised by the leaders of all ranks. The processes that are taking place in Ukraine are of a historically weighty nature due to their scale and importance.

In fact, the question as to whether we are equal in the community of the developed countries of the world, whether we are in the vanguard of the development of civilization or we miss an historic opportunity and deprive our people of the possibility to live in wealth and take pride in their homeland is being resolved today.

I do not support the replacement of a concrete issue by lofty speeches, but I opened my report actually with the historic assessment of the current situation in Ukraine, because I know well how national self-consciousness and a careful attitude toward our national interests is characteristic of the widest public circles in Lvov Oblast.

Moreover, I am convinced that this is one of the additional factors that can affect even the general socioeconomic development of this region of Ukraine.

At the same time, being guided by nothing other than the concern over the current and future situation in Ukraine, we must steadily observe the principles of sane pragmatism, the scientifically founded analysis, the forecast of each of our steps, the immediate resolving of our socioeconomic problems, and the localization of crises that exhaust Ukraine.

The historic task to rescue Ukraine by ourselves—this is how we should raise the issue today—has absolutely concrete problems on which the president, the government, and Ukrainian lawmakers are working. I will let myself dwell upon these particular issues shortly.

At the same time I would not like to repeat the well-known general assessments of trends that are common for Ukraine today and once again lay the stress on our conceptual tasks. They have also been repeatedly formulated. I will let myself draw your attention only to the most pressing issues of the current domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine.

The first bloc of problems that is of strategic significance for Ukraine is connected with stabilizing the economy and pulling it out of the state when the system destroys itself to the point of recovery and self-reproduction.

You know well the economic situation in the country.

It remains tense.

The previous year was marked by the deepest drop in production, the unprecedented exacerbation of the crisis in the state financial system, and the country's payment balance.

A president's report—on Ukraine's economic development in 1994—to the Supreme Council is being drafted. The report including a founded analysis of the process will be submitted to the legislature in March.

However, the general conclusion is clear for me even today. It is as follows.

Those small improvements that were achieved in the fourth quarter in stabilizing the karbovanets, in reducing the budget deficit to some extent have not triggered and naturally could not trigger a noticeable impact on the deceleration of crises in both the economy in general, and its decisive element, the consumption sector.

The previous year was marked by the continued drop in the living standard of the population and the deepening of the social differentiation, when wealth is concentrated on one pole and increasing impoverishment—on the other.

I am particularly emphasizing the fact that the drop in living standards has reached the level below which only a social explosion can emerge.

In connection with this, the entire complex of not only purely economic, but also political and humanitarian issues of the development, as well as the issues of national relations and building our statehood must be reduced to the problems of the social policy, of our ability—in the immediate future—to change the situation for the best and ensure at least the stabilization, while ensure an increase in the living standard of the people in the future, particularly of its least financially

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secure segments, of those people who cannot ensure their well-being with their own labor and need the assistance from society.

I would like that all of us realize well this most explicit peculiarity of the current moment of the development of our society.

It is particularly important that all levels of the executive power—from the government structures to regional ones, and primarily, to the local level of the state administration—fully comprehend this circumstance. I have made such a conclusion for myself as president.

The deepening of the crisis in the social sector obliges us to critically assess certain aspects of the economic course of our state that has been implemented lately.

We should avoid any prepossession. Dogmatism in politics and primarily in the economy has always led to destructive processes. There is no need to prove it. We know well about this from our own economic history.

Having gained our independence, we embarked on the path, along which all of civilized mankind proceeds; we began to shape a new economic ideology and a new economic policy.

However, such an ideology, such a policy cannot be too committed. They must be flexible, they must reflect current realities and operatively respond to them.

In connection with this, we must realize deeply something else once more: The primary criterion of the correctness of the economic policy, of its efficiency for society is the development of social processes, the dynamics of the people's life. This will become a cornerstone for all our activity. There are simply no other assessment factors.

Does such an approach throw doubt upon the strategy of the market economic transformations that we have chosen?

I will say absolutely unequivocally: It is precisely the way in which the question is put that is incorrect in its essence. There is the world's experience, there are things that the world civilization has established and they convincingly prove the opposite.

That is why we can make the necessary corrections of the economic policy solely within the framework of the market strategy.

This is the first essential conclusion which I would like to emphasize.

The second conclusion is: Our analysis shows that we were not mistaken in our other strategic goal—that of accelerated market transformation.

This conclusion is based on our own experience. What we are currently doing would have produced a much more tangible social effect some two or three years ago. Moreover, today we have a situation when any lingering with solidifying civilized, officially acknowledged market structures and market-type relations may result in their solidifying in a distorted "shadow" form, or even Mafia- like form.

At present, we can definitely state that the economy's criminal sector, combined in terms of organization with the criminal elements of the former party and bureaucratic apparatus, have started to adapt to the market environment much faster than our official economy.

In light of that, the system of market relations which is currently being developed in our economy is acquiring a distorted form with a strong antipopular tint.

We can only overcome this [trend] on the basis of accelerated transition of all the official economy's components to free market. We must act in a preventive manner.

Here is another essential conclusion. We do not consider erroneous our principled approach toward financial stabilization of the economy.

The Supreme Council recently passed a number of resolutions aimed at increasing all kinds of people's monetary incomes. You are well aware of those resolutions. I understand the people's deputies' stance. However, there is one more thing I would like to mention. The money that has been promised to the people do not exist. The lawmakers, the trade unions, the government, or the state in general do not have it. It can only appear as a result of emission unbacked by available products. People, too, know what that means. Incidentally, the people fear that kind of money—that kind of paper, to be more precise—more than anything else.

This would amount to a death verdict on production. Because of inflation, the investment process has been nullified.

On the other hand, most "shadow" operations are based on moves that encourage inflation. This, too, does not need to be proven. In light of that, it is useless to seek resolution of the matured problems apart from the policy of tough financial stabilization. This is my conviction; therefore I have taken that stance, and I am going to keep it.

Thus, the basic issues that have been enumerated here—the market strategy, accelerated economic reform, and urgent financial stabilization in essence, cannot be put into question in our economic policies.

What reserves do we have for strengthening our economy's social orientation? In my opinion, we have several of those.

I would like to dwell on the most relevant ones.

First, they include state regulation and management of economic processes, particularly those directly connected to developing the market infrastructure and securing market transformation of all the spheres of economic relations.

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Life has, in fact, ridiculed those who used to believe and unfortunately, continue to believe that it would be enough to halt emission and proclaim liberalization of economic processes, and the rest will be accomplished by automatic self-regulators. There are a lot of such Manilov-type [Gogol's character, symbol of unrealistic projects] ideologists both in the center and in the provinces. I never belonged to that class. Therefore, I urged and continue to urge the strengthening of the state's administrative function and the creation of an appropriate hierarchy.

However, an efficient administrative hierarchy does not solely amount to a strong center; it also includes a very active—I would even say intelligent—regional authority. It is that authority which will be primarily tasked with the resolution of an expansive complex of social problems.

We will definitely resolve the issue of delegating a growing number of administrative functions to the provinces. We are working on that. However, both regional and local units of state administration should be ready to master those functions, display initiative, and perform them to the benefit of our common cause.

I am not sure that this kind of readiness exists in all the oblasts, and I appeal to those present to actively work toward this end.

I know that you have great practical experience. However, every kind of experience needs to be assessed critically and improved. I appeal to you to do so.

I am deeply convinced that the strengthening of our economy's manageability and social orientation are indispensable and closely intertwined processes. Those are the issues that we have to address in the first place.

The second direction includes resolute actions to improve the structure of the production sector. The change of the production structure is a constant process and in this sphere, we should have no illusions.

There are a lot of such issues. Let me cite just a few.

We have to make a step that is very complex from both the social and economic perspectives—we must reorient, mothball, or simply close down certain production structures which at this point we cannot afford to finance.

The government is currently working on that issue. We must do this as early as this year. There is no other way to secure our economic survival.

It is evident that those issues can be professionally resolved only given active cooperation between the center and the regional bodies of authority. Moreover, I understand that the principal burden will be shifted onto the local administration, and I would like to encourage active cooperation in that sphere, too.

Another direction of our economic policy is comprehensive support of those sectors of economy that can yield rapid results.

First and foremost, I mean the agrarian sector.

Recently, I thoroughly discussed this issue in my speech at a session of the Academy of Agrarian Sciences General Assembly, and I hope that you share the position I presented in my speech.

At least, increased attention to the countryside, in particular, to spring agricultural work, must be based on principles different than those proposed in the Supreme Council draft resolution that is currently being discussed.

We have already experienced what is proposed in this draft, and we know that this is an unpromising path, which will eventually lead to intensification of destructive processes, and will not contribute to resolving our social problems, but just the opposite, it will drive them to a deadlock even further.

Using your rostrum, I want to call on people's deputies to display moderation and constructiveness.

At the same time, we have an extremely important problem, the resolution of which should fully depend on activities of local authorities.

Production of agricultural products at collective farmers' private plots increases in Ukraine every year. We know well about difficulties which have arisen in this area in connection with a dramatic increase in the cost of suburban transportation. Therefore, specific measures for resolving this problem must be defined in every oblast, city, and rayon, and possibly at every large enterprise.

We are unconditionally obliged to do that, and I want to appeal to all regional and local structures to oversee this issue personally.

We must also implement other measures that will allow us to correct structural processes operatively, having ensured the most social orientation of our production.

There are extremely large reserves to do that. We have simply not dealt with this seriously.

Profound reform in all areas of the non-production sector is a third way to increase the social orientation of the economy.

We have firmly decided to complete small privatization this year. However, this must be done wisely, and not according to the well-known principle of adjusting a plan to the goal. Privatization must be conducted not for the sake of privatization itself, and it is not meant to make it possible for the Property Fund to report an appropriate figure by the end of this year.

The main thing here is small privatization. This is a way to dramatically improve all areas of public services. This is the main criterion.

Therefore, functions of local authorities must again be extremely efficient in this area.

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I call on you to pay maximum attention to this issue.

And, finally, a fourth issue is profound reform in structure and mechanisms for social protection of the population. Although we abandoned a strictly administrative economy a long time ago, we have done nothing to reform this crucial sphere in our country.

Everything remains unchanged.

State expenditures for social protection are increasing, and the results remain marginal.

We have been speaking a lot about the establishment of a ramified system of targeted social protection. These are primary issues, in a situation in which we have to increase municipal tariffs and prices for other public services. These issues have not yet been resolved, however.

And there is a great deal of such issues.

First and foremost, this is the government's fault. The Ministries of Labor, Economy, and Social Protection are not displaying much initiative in this area either.

Although we have almost 10 deputy prime ministers, none of them is directly responsible for preforming tasks related to social protection of the population.

This criticism is also addressed at me. I understand this.

At the same time, we must be aware of something else. The regions should bear the primary responsibility for resolving welfare issues.

The center must create appropriate financial and material—including budgetary—preconditions for this.

We want to do this, and corresponding corrections will be added to the 1995 budget. At the same time, you, too, must work hard. And I again call on you to do that.

Esteemed participants in the conference!

I hope that we all, without exception, are supporters of profound economic reforms, understanding that this is the only possible path to real revival of our economy and economic sovereignty of our state.

However, time for talks about the need of reform ended a long time ago. My highest concern is that many of our reformers prove to be not useful enough for concrete organizational work, and that they neglect this work.

In this situation, we may, as the saying goes, talk reforms down.

This is a very serious issue, which is directly related to those who sit in managerial chairs in the highest governmental structures, as well as to employees at the regional and local level.

We currently should not talk but act carefully, and at the same time, vigorously and decisively. We must achieve concrete results every day.

Not everything has been lost in our country's economy.

We already have many new, enlivening, and progressive things in our economy. We have already learned a lot. We are currently different people than we were yesterday.

Our society is already able not only to accept, but also work on the implementation of a market ideology.

Everything depends on us and on our ability to organize things; and I call upon you to do this.

The second strategic direction of the president's activities is connected with implementing a sweeping political reform in Ukraine.

The flawed organization of the Ukrainian state power is one of the sources fueling the economic crisis. Let me stress that not only does it serve as an obstacle in eliminating the crisis phenomena, but it also is one of the prime causes of Ukraine's economic self-destruction.

The draft Law on the State Power and Local Self-Government Bodies, presented to the Supreme Council for discussion this past December, was designed to first of all create an entirely new system of state power capable of ensuring manageability of society for the period of its crisis stage. In practice, this means the build-up of an efficient vertical chain of executive power; a distinct division of powers wielded by parliament, as a legislative body, the president, as head of state and executive power, as well as the division of powers at the local level.

Last Saturday [11 February], I met with members of the reconciliatory commission, which is preparing a second reading of the draft. We have practically reached accord on all principal issues, except for two questions: relations of the president with the government and grounds for dissolving the Supreme Council.

I am convinced that positions on these two issues will soon be coordinated. I would like to emphasize that the previous positive results of the work done by the reconciliatory commission are important for me not only because legal compromises were found, pushing forward Ukraine's state system development.

This commission, which comprises representatives of all factions, demonstrated that if we manage to go beyond narrow party interests, we are capable of doing constructive and joint work. This is what Ukraine desperately needs especially today—the country simply cannot sustain the standoff of the branches of power and the uncivilized fighting of various political forces.

Today, it would be too early to believe that all obstacles impeding passage of the above law have been removed. However, serious positive breakthrough has already been made on this issue; and I am not going to conceal the fact that I view it as a common achievement of the president's team and the "common sense" forces in parliament.

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But adopting the Law on Power will only be implementing a part of the state and political transformations.

The next step should be reform of the judicial system and creation of an independent and highly professional Constitutional Court. I attach particular importance to this issue because of various reasons—also because at a time of emergency economic situation and grave hardships in the sociopolitical life, the power should undertake emergency measures, too.

The independent judicial power, in cooperation with the free press and a public and political movement, should install and protect the boundaries over which there is no democracy and which should be by no means overstepped.

The Constitutional Court should rigorously protect the division of powers executed by the branches of power and ensure compliance with agreements incorporated into the Law on Power in case it is approved by the Supreme Council.

The reality increasingly convinces me that we need to hold the next elections having at least a mixed majoritarian-proportionate system. I will seek to include this perception in a new Ukrainian Constitution. The president closely watches the constitutional process all the time; and I will do my best to accelerate it.

Of practical issues regarding activities of the supreme state power, the most pressing one is the issue of the government. No doubt, the results of its performance deserve a critical assessment.

A new system of managing the economy will be introduced right after the Law on Power is activated, and the Cabinet of Ministers will, in fact, be formed on a new basis.

The issue of state power is closely connected with the task of combating criminal phenomena pervading all spheres of our society.

This problem has recently been examined in great detail at the expanded meeting of the Coordinating Committee for Combating Organized Crime. You were presented with a critical analysis of the status of fight against crime, which is becoming increasingly political in nature. I would appreciate it if the participants in this meeting would voice their opinions on this, and first of all, regarding issues concerning shifting the "shadow economy" into the zone of legitimate activities. This is the most important problem for us, because its resolution could help us significantly replenish the state budget, intensify investment- attracting measures, and, most importantly, eliminate the growing perception of criminal economic behavior as something normal and acceptable for all economic entities. I do not even mention the 20 to 30 percent retail markups, for which an average consumer has to pay to support the "fifth power." This was discussed at the above meeting.

Lvov Oblast is one of the regions that will be confronted with special requirements in combating the "fifth power."

Heads of the oblast militia bodies and Security Service were replaced here. The center will provide additional assistance. We are waiting for practical results. The president will set tough demands on leaders of the local executive institutions and law-enforcement agencies. I believe, however, that this is a fair measure and that it will be supported by the local population.

Preservation of public tranquility and social accord is an important precondition for Ukraine to survive. I would not like to go into details regarding this point. Let me only stop at two issues toward which I would like you to display particular understanding and discretion.

First, Ukraine is not a homogeneous state in terms of the economic development in its regions, political orientations, or even religion or ethnicity. The threat of Ukraine breaking into fragments is realistic. This should not be exaggerated and dramatized, though. But on the other hand, it should not be underestimated.

We can only preserve the integrity of our state when the two conditions are met: Recovery of the national economy and, hence, the improvement of socioeconomic moods of the population; and second, the differentiation of domestic policies, especially their humanitarian part. It is not the double standards in the activities of the central authorities that are at issue. The problem's resolution lies in the need to impartially consider all of Ukraine's present-day realities in the state policies and abandon all its elements that aggravate contradictions which, unfortunately, still exist today and impede our normal development.

I am convinced that ardent Ukrainian patriots will understand and support me on this, because this is the only way to preserve the independent Ukrainian state. At the same time, the president will do his best, as he did in the past, within his material abilities, to promote economic, political, and spiritual rebirth of Ukraine as an independent state.

The second issue involves the activities of politicized extremist groups. I am aware of the real strength and scope of this phenomenon. The propaganda hype around it is much bigger than its real power. However, its threat should not be underestimated. Even today, the activities of such groupings produce negative consequences not only domestically. Unfortunately, they started to trigger unfavorable reactions on the international level, as well. We have no right to overlook them. In addition, the efficiency of influence exerted by government institutions cannot be compared with the negative attitude toward such provocative phenomena in the public opinion. This is why I ask all of the journalists that are present here today, the genuinely national and patriotic forces, to make their contribution to the cause of

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cleansing the national movement from aggressive elements working against Ukraine.

And the last set of issues concerns our international activities. You know that our prime goal here is to ensure a favorable international environment for resolving our domestic problems and, most importantly, implementing anti-crisis economic measures.

CIS countries and, above all, Russia lie in the area of our special interests. This is the place of our raw material sources, markets, and close technological and cooperation ties. This is exactly where the issue of our critical imports, of which we are $5 billion short to pay for—according to rough estimates— is decided.

This room today hosts state officials who acquired much experience in managerial positions. This is why I think that there is no need to explain significance and meaningfulness of this issue—especially from the point of view of consolidating our economic independence and considering our debt and energy source supplies.

Two events took place last week that significantly pushed forward our relations with Russia and had a tangible impact on the further development of the CIS.

I am talking about the negotiations held by the Russian and Ukrainian state delegations and the recent CIS summit meeting in Almaty.

This morning, those issues received the most attention during my meeting with journalists. Let me, however, once again underline the most important results of those events.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and Russia has been initialed. According to our preliminary agreement with Boris Yeltsin, the problem of dual citizenship was resolved. It was agreed that the "parties shall mutually respect their territorial integrity and confirm inviolability of the present borders between them."

A number of agreements in the sphere of trade and economic relations have been signed.

At the meeting in Almaty, priority importance was attached to the issues concerning economic cooperation, the mutual regulation of economic relations, equalizing conditions for economic activities, and the organization of the work of the Interstate Economic Committee.

Ukraine signed most of the agreements submitted to the government and state heads for discussion.

All those agreements certainly facilitate the pursuit of our state interests.

We will continue to increase our activity in this region, because this is warranted first of all by the interests of Ukraine's economic security in this region.

At the same time, our state will seek to expand relations with Western and Eastern countries. This is why—let me stress this again—the development and expansion of our ties with CIS countries cannot and should not be pursued at the expense of folding relations with the developed countries. I am planning to pay my next visit to Japan—a country in which we take particular interest for many reasons.

Intensive work is continuing with international financial organizations, the assistance of which is necessary for the stabilization measures undertaken by Ukraine this year.

Other steps are also being made on the international arena intended to strengthen and expand Ukraine's authority and influence.

These are, dear colleagues, some of the pressing problems presently experienced by the central bodies of the state power. I considered it expedient to inform you about them first-hand.

However, I propose that we continue to discuss primarily the issues of socioeconomic development of your region; jointly summarize all typical phenomena and shortcomings in interaction between all-Ukrainian and local government institutions; determine, if possible, still available reserves; and find additional potential for intensifying our anti-crisis activities.

I hope that your work will be collective, friendly, and fruitful.

Thank you for your attention.

Nationalists Preparing To Protest Yeltsin's Visit

LD0103095895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0807 GMT 1 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Lvov March 1 TASS—Ukraine's national radical parties are preparing an unwelcome meeting for Russian President Boris Yeltsin who is due to visit Kiev in late March.

ITAR-TASS was told today that the parliamentary faction "Gosudarstvennost" ("Statehood") plans to stage manifestations on the presidential motorcade's route from international "Borispol" airport to Kiev.

Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukyanenko said public and political "national-democratic" groups would gather on several segments of the 10-km route. They will display Ukrainian-, Russian- and English-language posters to "express their resentment to the leader of the Russian imperialist state".

Kuchma Aide on Crimea Politics, Economy

954F1564A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA staff correspondent V. Darkin: "The Should Not Be a Power Vacuum:

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It Looks as if the President of Ukraine Will Be Advised To Apply Tough Measures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The press conference held on 22 February in Krasnoperekopsk was the final point of the visit to Crimea by V. Grinev, adviser on regional issues to the president of Ukraine and chairman of the Inter-Regional Reform Bloc party, and his team.

The guests visited Simferopol, Sevastopol, the southern shore of Crimea, Kerch, and Kirovskiy Rayon. What opinion did they form of the political and economic situation in our republic? A considerable share of questions asked the Ukrainian president's adviser revolved around this particular topic. V.B. Grinev noted that they have collected a lot of material, various information, and have personal impressions and observations. On the basis of this, a memorandum will be prepared for L.D. Kuchma. I think that in general the impressions gathered by V.B. Grinev from his trip to our peninsula will be used in many instances by the presidential team in decisionmaking involving the Republic of Crimea.

The presidential adviser believes that "the political situation has begun to heat up" in Crimea. There is an obvious crisis in the republic Supreme Council. The activities of President Yu.A. Meshkov have intensified considerably. The same may be said of political parties. V.B. Grinev believes that this is related to the upcoming elections to local bodies of authority, and he is concerned that unprofessional people may ride in on a wave of populism into leadership positions. This is dangerous.

"If elections are held," said Vladimir Borisovich, "we will support professionals."

Generally, however, he fears a power vacuum. The republic Supreme Council is currently not capable of work, and the president of Crimea does not have the authority to make decisions. But the people should not suffer from the power vacuum in Crimea. They are indignant over the current situation. Economic reforms have stalled; the resolution of the property question has been blocked; the law on delineation of authority between Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea is not working. In Sevastopol the delegation looked into the current situation of the Black Sea Fleet, paying particular attention to the situation of military retirees and construction of housing for them. All unpleasant facets of the crisis of the Ukrainian economy are felt in Crimea more acutely than anywhere else.

"We visited, for instance, the Plant imeni Voykova in Kerch," said Grinev. "The situation there is difficult. Machinery is obsolete, and new equipment is not being purchased. What kind of quality of the output can we talk about? The situation is grave not only at this enterprise, but in the entire of Crimean industry. Agriculture is in crisis. The Ukrainian minister of agriculture is making an urgent trip to Simferopol. Criminal structures directly influence people in high echelons. What are the Ukrainian authorities to do—calmly watch all that is happening in Crimea? Not too long ago we have lived through a period when noninterference in local political quarrels was justified. This was a correct tactic. But now we cannot remain idle. Crimea is a component part of Ukraine; it has a higher authority, and this has to be demonstrated to Crimea."

Judging by these remarks, the presidential adviser is inclined to apply rather stiff measures to our republic. On the other hand, he said that he supports Crimean autonomy, and if some measures are indeed to be taken, it will be on the basis of the law on authority which is to be adopted soon by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. The strict vertical chain of authority will affect Crimea as well. Its status will be defined, as well as that of Sevastopol and, by the way, of Kiev. To this, he also added that in this respect it is necessary to amend provisions of the Constitution and get things sorted out with respect to the law on delineation of powers.

In short, the delegation's visit showed an increased attention to Crimea, and the desire on the part of Ukrainian leadership not to let events here to slip from under their control.

Security Service Urges Control Over 14th Army Pullout

WS2802122395 Lvov INFOBANK in English 1055 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The administration of the Security Service of Ukraine in Odessa Oblast turned to the leadership of Ukraine with an offer to create a controlling commission which would observe the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army which is based in the Transdniester region. This was reported by Anatoliy Kozhemyakin, head of the oblast coordination committee against corruption and organized crime. According to him, the creation of such a commission will help to prevent the theft and spread of the 14th Army's arms and ammunition in Ukraine.

Economic Issues

Cooperation With Russia in Aircraft Engineering Detailed

WS0103085695 Kiev UKRINFORM in English 1500 GMT 27 Feb 95

[From the "Business News Weekly" feature No. 8, 20-26 Feb 95]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] During his prospective visit to Ukraine Russian President Boris Yeltsin is expected to sign an agreement on the establishment of the "International Aircraft Engines" financial-industrial group which will merge relevant Ukrainian and Russian enterprises.

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The agreement was ratified on February 20 during a visit to Ukraine by a delegation of Russian aircraft engine manufacturers.

According to the agreement's provisions, other nations may join Russia and Ukraine in setting up the financial-industrial group (FIG).

The list of participants in the FIG will be finalized within three months following the agreement's signing. These are expected to include financial institutions, insurance companies, and trading organizations. The FIG is supposed to amalgamate several hundred Russian and Ukrainian enterprises.

However, as experts with the Ukrainian Ministry of Engineering, Military-Industrial Complex and Conversion maintain, so far, no specific plans have been designed for the institution of financial-industrial groups in compliance with the Ukrainian president's decree of January 1995.

The Zaporozhye-headquartered "Motor-Sich" works, once the former Soviet Union's leader in aircraft engine manufacture, is said to be the architect of the International Aircraft Engines' concept.

The idea is said to have been prompted primarily by the necessity to join efforts in starting serial production of the AN-70 military transport aircraft which is supposed to be propelled by Motor-Sich's D-27 fan-prop engines. Unfortunately, Ukraine has no domestic manufacture of controlling gear to complement the D-27's, which is produced by Russian enterprises.

According to expert forecasts, the global demand for AN-70's will amount to 2,000 planes. The Kiev Aviation Plant (KAP) and Russia's factory in Samara are supposed to embark on serial production of AN-70s.

In addition to AN-70's, the D-27 engine is expected to drive the AN-70T version and AN-180 aircraft which the Antonov designers and manufacturers expect to entrust to the Kharkov aircraft works and the Omsk-based Polyot (Flight) production association (Russia). AN-180's are supposed to replace the TU-154, presently flown by CIS nations. Demand for D-27 engines is appraised at 25 units a month.

Motor-Sich is also reported to have started serial production of D-436 turbofan engines to equip the advanced TU-334 plane. KAP has reportedly undertaken the manufacture of a pilot batch of five such planes. The early prototype has been shipped to Moscow to undergo tests in the immediate future.

Passenger planes of the YAK-42M series, AN-74 transport planes, and AN-200 amphibians are supposed to be driven by the D-436 engines.

Motor-Sich underwent conversion into a joint-stock society in 1994, with the state possessing 100 percent of the stocks. The still omnipotent state is expected to relax its proprietorial grip, although it will retain the controlling interest in the foreseeable future.

Motor-Sich is said to specialize in the manufacture of aircraft engines within a very broad power range from 50 h.p. [horsepower] to over 23.4 t. [not further identified] meant for both fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft.

Motor-Sich's AI-20, AI-24, and AI-25 gas-turbine engines propel IL-18, AN-24, AN-26, AN-30, AN-32, and YAK-40 passenger planes. Its TVZ-117 turboshaft engines used to drive all the former USSR's helicopters, including KA-32's, MI-17's and MI-24's. The world's most powerful MI-26 choppers, which can lift cargoes of up to 20 tonnes, are driven by D-136 turboshaft engines. D-36 turbo-jet engines propel YAK-42 passenger planes and AN-72/74 transport aircraft.

The AN-124 "Ruslan" jumbo plane is driven by four D-18T engines, which Motor-Sich manufactures.

The AN-225 "Mriya" ("Dream") transport plane, which is the world's largest, is driven by the D-18T's.

Motor-Sich's products are exported to 43 nations.

Rifts in Independent Unions Viewed

954F1399A Kiev MOST in Russian No 6, 13-19 Feb 95 p 11

[Article by G. Larin: "Trade Unions in Flux"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **"When sailing against the tide, do not drop the oars."**—*Hindu proverb*

...How rapidly, speedily we cast off the mooring lines, and land disappeared in the distance, the waves sang to us, and every fifth member of the crew was at the helm.—*A. Makarevich, "Do You Remember How It All Started?"*

The notion that victory of new structures over the old ones will take place almost automatically is now gone. "Banish him out the door, and he climbs through a window"—that applies not only to the nomenklatura, which demonstrated a remarkable adaptability (one of its far from the worst, but also far from the best sides), not only to the soviets, which continue taking control of all the branches of power at every level, but also to the "state" trade unions, the former "schools of communism," which are also quite successfully adapting themselves to new trends. Semen Korikov, chairman of the Free Trade Union of Machinists of Ukraine, states: "A year or so ago it appeared to many of us that the old nag that was the Federation of Trade Unions was about to collapse and it would be easier to create real instead of puppet worker organizations. At present, however, it is necessary to admit that the nag is surviving." More than that, there are cases where new trade union organizations, such as, for instance, the Trade Union of Workers of the Armed Forces, are joining the FPU [Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine], and the international contacts of the old trade unions are expanding, right up to

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the possible membership of their branch structures in international trade union associations.

The free trade unions, of course, hold an important advantage, which is their faith in the fact that they are able to protect the interests of their members, reinforced both by the authority of their leaders and the conscious attitude of rank-and-file members toward their membership in the trade union, better than the "school of communism." In that sense, the new trade unions, which have actually tasted independence from the state and the work provider, have a sufficient "reserve of durability." But it is difficult not to notice a certain other situation, which also did not occur today, and which is growing more serious with every day.

First of all, that is the fact that real growth in the membership of free trade unions has decreased. Even though the process of creation of new free trade union organizations continues (which is regularly reflected on the pages of MOST as well), it is impossible not to recognize that the mass movement of workers into democratic trade unions, which was characteristic in the 1990-1992 period, does not exist at present. That phenomenon is, of course, explained by an entire complex of objective reasons, which include the general crisis of the democratic movement, the effects of the label "saboteurs taking the state by the throat" that was so skillfully attached to them, and the all-round decline in production that has made too many workers afraid of losing their jobs, forcing them to forget about the possibility of defending their rights: "This is no time for cake, it is a matter of survival."

It is still evident that the slowdown in the growth rate of free trade unions is also brought about by certain internal circumstances. The Ukrainian labor movement began 1995 highly splintered into numerous trade unions, excessively competitive with each other. Only the strongest trade unions, those of air traffic controllers and railway machinists, was able to avoid drinking from that cup. The Independent Trade Union of Miners (NPG), however, drank fully from the cup as its regional organizations, withdrawing one after the other from the NPG, recently created the Donbass NPG, so that at present there are simultaneously four miner organizations of comparable size: The Regional Union of Strike Committees of Donbass (RSSKD) and the state trade union of workers of the coal industry, which as before amalgamates over half the workers in the branch, continue functioning, beside the two NPG's. Even though Mikhail Krylov, RSSKD co-chairman, and Nikolay Volynko, the newly elected chairman of NPGDB [Independent Trade Union of Miners of Donbass], as well as Mikhail Volynets, acting NPGU [Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine] chairman speak of the possibility (and if they are really pressed—of the need) of unification, each one of them, however, adds, "But it depends on what principles are involved." There is no need to name those who are pleased by this "skirmishing near the abyss."

What was said above applies equally to professional associations the period of whose partial disintegration in general matched the time when the two professional centers merged into one, so that the number of associations remained unchanged not for the first year, and now equals exactly three and a half. Here as well, the leaders speak of principles, even though the depressingly periodic nature of the phenomenon gives rise to the question as to whether these principles are merely a cover for personal struggle. Of course, one should not assert that diversions in views expressed by various figures in the free trade unions are totally artificial. The question regarding legitimacy of the leadership of the All-Ukrainian Association of Worker Solidarity (VOST) and the problem concerning the ways to reform the system of social insurance, which became one of the principal and vocal reasons for discord between the Free and Solidarity trade unions of Ukraine, as well as the question pertaining to the degree of "flexibility" of the charter, because of which even the leaders of the NPGU having the friendliest of relations almost severed their contacts, are really highly important, along with the amorphous relationship that is not based on any principles, except for the current coincidence of interests, which may all bring more harm than good, but still.... Svetlana Krasnyanskaya, chairman of the Kharkov Regional Association of Solidarity Trade Unions, remarks: "I am afraid that arguments about which trade union is the most effective one, the one with the most freedom, representing the greatest solidarity, which association is the most democratic and authoritative on the international arena, may evolve into a sectarianism that turns away the last of our supporters." She is far from the only one with such apprehensions.

There is another quite realistic prospect involving continuing disintegration of the democratic worker trade union movement where work on the creation of new trade union organizations in those spheres of the economy where they did not exist until now will be completely abandoned. What has been said does not take away from the significance of the results achieved in Nikolayev, Kremenchug, Kazatin, Ilyichevsk, Dimitrov, and Lutsk. The impression, however, that the Ukrainian cities on the list above are not limited to those included in it is apparently also not too deceptive.

There is still no strong national free trade union of steel makers or chemical workers, teachers, or motor vehicle builders. At the same time, motor vehicle plants and steel mills exist in many locations and are attempting to survive under conditions created by the transition to a market economy, and the teachers are protesting, being unable to get beyond the organization of strike committees, where free trade unions active in other professions have been functioning with success for a long time. Olga Samofalova, chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Textile Workers (city of Donetsk), who is attempting to develop activity in the creation of new organizations in the Donbass region, states, "Yes, workers and teachers often really do not know what a free trade union is and

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do not know how to create one, and it is possible and necessary to help them." The male miners, at the same time, are busy with their own problems.

It is not difficult to imagine what a great influence on the growth of free trade unions would be exerted by creation of democratic trade unions of steel makers and teachers with their great potential numbers and, in the future, their financial power and moral authority in society as well. Ukrainian trade unions, however, can count on success in expanding their ranks only if the already existing organizations are able to come to some kind of agreement among themselves. Vladimir Olshevskyy, president of the Free Trade Union of Communication Workers of Ukraine, says, with emphasis: "I almost never even dream of friendship, solidarity, or coordination of action any more. I just want us not fight with one another." Many leaders attach some hope to the forthcoming NPGU and VOST conferences and the First Congress of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine, scheduled in February. It is, of course, difficult to break the current negative tendencies and overcome old contradictions, but it is not impossible.

Even though some editor from PROFGAZETA will undoubtedly not neglect the chance to gloat over this article, viewing it as just another proof of the "demise" of the free trade union movement, the "demise" will be only in his dreams if the free trade unions, and primarily their rank-and-file members, remember that no matter who is at the helm, the oars must not be dropped.

Edict on Regulation of External Barter

954K0490A Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 7 Feb 95 p 13

["Edict of the President of Ukraine on Regulating Barter (Merchandise-Swapping) Operations in the Sector of Foreign Economic Activities," signed by Presiden L. Kuchma on 27 January 1995]

[FBIS Translated Text] With a view to improving the system of legal regulation of foreign economic activities, streamlining the performance of barter (merchandise-swapping) operations by the agents of foreign economic activities in Ukraine, and managing the balance of payments of Ukraine, as well as in accordance with Point 7-4, Article 114-5 of the Constitution of Ukraine, it is resolved:

1 It shall be established that barter (merchandise-swapping) operations in the sector of foreign economic activities shall be one of the types of export and import operations which are documented by a single contract between an agent of foreign economic activities of Ukraine and a foreign economic agent. Such a contract provides for an exchange of merchandise which is balanced in terms of value and is not accomplished through the movement of funds in either cash or non-cash form (henceforth referred to as the barter contract).

The barter contract shall specify the total value of goods exported and the total value of goods imported under this contract which will be denominated in foreign exchange, with a compulsory denomination in U.S. dollars.

2. All agents of foreign economic activity in Ukraine shall be entitled to engage in barter (merchandise-swapping) operations which involve goods in accordance with the legislation of Ukraine.

3. It shall be established that, when performing barter (merchandise-swapping) transactions involving goods specified in Article 6 of the present edict, the subjects of foreign economic activities in Ukraine shall place interim import bonds at the authorized banks of Ukraine in accordance with Article 19 of the Law of Ukraine "On Foreign Economic Activities."

Interim import bonds may be placed by foreign economic agents which are parties in the barter contracts in question for the benefit of the agents of foreign economic activities in Ukraine which are parties in these contracts.

4. An interim import bond shall be placed for the entire duration of a barter (merchandise-swapping) operation. The interim import bonds shall be placed no later than three business days from the moment at which the barter contract takes effect and shall be returned to the agent of foreign economic activities in Ukraine (the foreign economic agent) which placed the interim import bond within three banking days of the date of filing with the relevant authorized bank of Ukraine of a copy of the customs declaration which attests to the receipt of the full amount of imported goods.

5. The interim import bond procedure shall not apply when agents authorized by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine perform barter (merchandise-swapping) operations in order to carry out government-to-government agreements of Ukraine.

6. The amounts of interim import bonds shall be set as percentages of the total value of goods to be exported under barter contracts and shall come to:

—50 percent in the event that easily marketable exportable products of Ukraine are to be exported and products which are not critical imports for Ukraine are to be imported under the barter contract;

—10 percent in the event that easily marketable exportable products of Ukraine (except for agricultural products and easily marketable products of their processing) are to be exported and products which are critical imports for Ukraine are to be imported under the barter contract;

—5 percent in the event that easily marketable agricultural products and easily marketable products of its processing are to be exported and products which are critical imports for Ukraine are to be imported under the barter contract.

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Lists of easily marketable exportable products of Ukraine, easily marketable agricultural products and easily marketable products of their processing shall be published, and a list of goods which are critical imports for Ukraine shall be set forth by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine in accordance with the Foreign Economic Activity Commodity Classification.

A barter contract involving goods specified in the present article shall be registered by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine or an organ authorized by it upon the production of a certificate from an authorized bank in Ukraine showing that an interim import bond has been placed.

The customs clearance of goods not covered by the present article and exported (imported) under barter contracts shall proceed along general guidelines and without a proper certificate from an authorized bank in Ukraine showing that an interim import bond has been placed.

7. In the event that the subject of a barter contract is changed necessitating a new registration of the barter contract, a new interim import bond shall be placed in an amount set in accordance with Article 6 of the present edict. The interim import bond placed under the barter contract shall be repaid through procedures established by the National Bank of Ukraine.

8. The amount of an interim import bond shall be set in U.S. dollars and shall be recalculated into Ukrainian currency at the current official rate of exchange of the Ukrainian currency against the U.S. dollar as of the date of placing the bond.

Interim import bonds may be placed at the authorized banks of Ukraine in the Ukrainian currency by agents of foreign economic activities of Ukraine, and by foreign economic agents—in U.S. dollars.

Interim import bonds shall be repaid in the currency in which they were placed.

In cases envisioned by Paragraphs 3 and 4, Part 1, Article 6 of the present edict, an interim import bond may be placed by an agent of foreign economic activities of Ukraine that is a legal entity by way of making out a promissory note to an authorized bank of Ukraine (with the consent of this bank) for the duration of existence of the interim import bond.

If a barter contract is not carried out the authorized bank of Ukraine shall present the note to the maker of the note for payment within three banking days of the date on which the note is payable.

If a barter contract is not carried out and the maker of the note fails to pay the amount appearing in the note the latter shall be paid to the order of the state by the relevant authorized bank of Ukraine through procedures set forth by the National Bank of Ukraine.

9. Procedures for performing operations with interim import bonds and their repayment (including that in the event that a barter contract is not carried out) shall be established by the National Bank of Ukraine.

10. Interim import bonds shall not be placed in conjunction with barter contracts involving goods specified in Article 6 of the present edict if such contracts have been signed and registered before the present edict takes effect and under which the export portion of the contract has been carried out in full or in part.

11. Goods imported under a barter contract shall be moved to the customs territory of Ukraine before the deadline set in this contract but no later than 90 calendar days from the date of customs clearance (the date of issuance of the export customs declaration for freight) of goods actually exported under the barter contract, and in the case of exports of work and services under a barter contract—from the date of signing a protocol or another document which certifies the performance of work or the rendering of services. This period shall be neither interrupted nor started anew in the event of a change in the subject of the barter contract envisioned by Article 7 of the present edict.

12. In the event that a barter contract is converted, through established procedures, into a foreign economic contract of a different type, with payments to be made in foreign exchange, and a new declaration is subsequently filed for goods, the previously placed interim import bond for operations not performed under this barter contract shall be subject to return within three banking days of the receipt of foreign exchange proceeds under the contract in question. Under such circumstances, the period for the receipt of foreign exchange proceeds (90 days from the date of issuance of the export customs declaration under the barter contract) shall be neither started anew nor interrupted.

13. Violations of the deadlines envisioned by Article 11 of the present edict for moving in goods (performing work, rendering services) which are to be imported under a barter contract shall entail the imposition of a penalty at the rate of 0.3 percent of the value of goods to be imported under the barter contract and not received for each day of delay; the penalty shall be in foreign exchange recalculated into Ukrainian currency at the official current exchange rate of the Ukrainian currency against the U.S. dollar as of the day the penalty is assessed.

14. Organs of the State Customs Committee of Ukraine shall monitor the receipt of imported goods in accordance with a barter contract and shall notify the organs of the State Tax Inspectorate of missed deadlines for the receipt of goods envisioned by Article 11 of the present edict.

15. Before 20 February 1995, the National Bank of Ukraine shall, in coordination with the Ministry of

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Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine and the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine, develop and approve procedures for performing operations with interim import bonds and their repayment (including in the event that a barter contract is not carried out) in accordance with Article 9 of the present edict.

16. Before 20 February 1995, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine shall compile lists of goods constituting critical imports and goods which are easily marketable exportable products, as envisioned by Article 6 of the present edict, and publish the lists in the newspaper URYADOVYY KURYER.

[Signed] President of Ukraine L. Kuchma

City of Kiev, 27 January 1995

Minister Anticipates Harvest at 1994 Level

954F1548A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by V. Krasnova: "The Council of Crimea. There Are Shoots—There Is Hope"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Windows" in the February weather in Crimea are very favorable for agricultural work this year. The farmers are prepared to take advantage of them to the fullest. But in recent years it has become more and more difficult for them to do their main work—plowing, planting, and raising grain. There is not enough technical equipment, fuel has to be bought at outrageous prices, the land is suffering from a lack of fertilizer, etc. And last year again the drought scorched the planted areas over a considerable area of the peninsula. As a result, the financial condition of Crimean agriculture turned out to be difficult. If there are no products, there is no money either.

The minister of agriculture and food of Ukraine, Yu. Karasik, came to Crimea just to see for himself the situation with the areas planted in winter crops, how the spring field work had begun, and, of course, to determine at least the minimum (we cannot count on any more) sum of aid to farms of the republic.

Accompanied by Crimean Prime Minister A. Franchuk, the guest flew over the fields of the farms of four rayons: Sakskiy, Chernomorskiy, Razdonenskiy, and part of Simferopolskiy. Late in the evening of that day—22 February—there was a conference with the participation of management workers of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of Crimea and the organizations and chiefs of rayon agricultural administrations under its jurisdiction.

Yuriy Mikhaylovich Karasik noted in his speech particularly that, judging from the condition of the winter crops, this year in Crimea there is a possibility of obtaining an average annual gross grain yield which the republic previously had in better years—1.5-1.7 million tonnes. And although the planting was done late, there are shoots, and this means that there is hope of a harvest; all that is needed is to top dress the winter crops. The supplies of moisture in the soil make it possible to conduct spring field work successfully as well.

In order to motivate the producers to sell grain to the state, it is important to advance money for it. The Government of Ukraine understands that economic measures are the only effective incentive. And an incentive is very much needed because in Ukraine as a whole a poor crop is expected, at the 1994 level of 13-14 million tonnes. It is unrealistic to expect the peasants to sell half of their yield, and the state's wheat resources must amount to no less than 7 million tonnes of grain. As was said at the conference, agricultural producers of Crimea will receive advance payment under contracts for grain, and in the full amount, since not only Crimea but also Ukraine will need the new wheat crop by July. The advance payment will make it possible for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to acquire fertilizer in order to top dress the plants promptly, means of protection, and fuel. Therefore Crimea will be among the first to receive mineral fertilizers and seeds.

But it was stated at the conference that the farms had to rely on more than just help from outside. For a great deal depends on their skillfulness and ability to organize things locally. Nobody will keep the farms from taking their products to the exchange or to auction. President L. Kuchma's edict contributes to this: It makes it possible for an investor who has invested his money in the production and processing of agricultural products to become the owner of his share. Measures are being taken to motivate the farms to receive not only money but also material resources in the form of fuel, fertilizers, etc.

Help for agriculture should not cause another burst of monetary issues, since the commercial credit is being granted for concrete agricultural products. Thus the government is planning on curbing inflation.

Participants in the conference received answers to many questions that interested them. In particular, the question of parity of grain and fuel prices was raised. The price setting process, judging from the figures that were cited, is constantly followed in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of Ukraine. It seems that quite recently we "drove out" the Selkhoztekhnika [Agricultural Equipment Association] enterprises but today we are suddenly beginning to miss them. Possibly, following the good old tradition whereby many innovations were tested here, Crimea will become a proving ground for the restoration of the kind of service previously provided by Selkhoztekhnika.

Prime Minister of Crimea A Franchuk spoke at the conference.

A news conference was held yesterday in Simferopol. Minister of Agriculture and Food of Ukraine Yu. Karasik, Prime Minister of Crimea A. Franchuk, Chief of the Main Administration of Farming of the Ministry

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Belarus

UN Delegation Discusses Technical Aid Program

WS0103112695 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0815 GMT 1 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On 28 February, a UN delegation arrived in Minsk to discuss the question of carrying out a large-scale program for rendering technical aid to Belarus. According to the Belarusian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this morning the delegation was received by the Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Khvastow. The delegation is also expected to meet representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet, and the president's administration. The delegation will also visit one of the establishments technically supported by the United Nations institutions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belarus plans to arrange a round table with the participation of the departments concerned. The visit of the UN representatives will last till 5 March.

Defense Team Discusses Cooperation in Bulgaria

WS0103112595 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0815 GMT 1 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The visit took place at the invitation of Bulgarian Defense Minister Dimitr Pavlov. As the senior officer of the board for foreign relations of the Ministry of Defense of Belarus, Colonel Yuriy Epaletaw, a member of the Belarusian delegation, told a BELAPAN correspondent that the visit was aimed at the establishment of closer contacts, the consideration of projects of mutual concern, and the elaboration of an agreement on cooperation between the Defense Ministries of the two countries. The Bulgarian side invited the head of the Belarusian military office, Colonel General Anatol Kastenka, to officially visit the country. During the visit, the agreement is supposed to be signed. According to Yuriy Epaletaw, the leadership of the Bulgarian Ministry of Defense regards the establishment of contacts with the Belarusian military office as a priority in the development of relations with the CIS member states in the military sphere. Among all the possible aspects of cooperation, the Bulgarian side displays interest in mutually beneficial links in the military-technical sphere. This was pointed out by the deputy chief of the General Headquarters of the Armed Forces of Bulgaria Lieutenant General Luben Pehlivanov.

Body Aiding U.S. MIA Cases Faces Disbandment

MM0103092995 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Sulyga under "What People Are Talking About Today" rubric: "About Traces of the Vietnam War in the City of Minsk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minsk—USAF Lieutenant Colonel Robert Standervik [name as transliterated] is one of the 3,000 U.S. servicemen who went missing in action [MIA] during the Vietnam War. His B-52 bomber was shot down by Ho Chi Minh's antiaircraft gunners in summer 1968. The subsequent fate of Standervik and his crew members remained unknown until recently.

Only in 1994 was it possible to find traces of the lieutenant colonel, not in Vietnam but in Belarus. It turned out that Reserve Major Aleksandr Sergeyev, who witnessed the U.S. airman's death and who took part in the Vietnam War as an antiaircraft weapons specialist, lives in Minsk.

"I saw the Vietnamese shoot the B-52 down," Sergeyev recalls. "We went to the place where the aircraft crashed. None of the crew managed to escape. When inspecting the airmen's remains, I found the identity card of the bomber's commander, Lt. Col. Robert Standervik, and kept it as a memento."

For a long time the facts regarding the participation of Soviet servicemen in the Vietnam War were considered to be the strictest secret. Specialists in observing a regime of secrecy carefully deleted everything from the service records of Soviet "Vietnam vets" that concerned their service with the Vietcong. Everybody was forced to sign an undertaking not to disclose military secrets.

It was only in 1994 that the former Soviet military specialist handed over the dead pilot's identity card to members of the Russian-U.S. commission for POW and MIA affairs. Currently there are around 150 former Soviet Air Defense Forces specialists who took part in the U.S.-Vietnam War of 1961-1974 living in Belarus. Some of them possess information on downed U.S. airmen. This information is collected and analyzed in Belarus by the committee for providing social protection for servicemen, headed by Lieutenant General Nikolay Cherginets.

"We have managed to establish the fate of 10 Americans shot down in the skies over Vietnam who until recently were regarded as MIA's," Cherginets said. "We have handed the Americans photographs of captured airmen and Vietnamese newspapers with articles about downed aircraft. All this material had been kept as souvenirs by our Air Defense Forces officers."

The search for witnesses to the death or incarceration of U.S. servicemen is going on not only in Belarus but also in all former USSR republics. Robert Bishop, a staffer of the Russian-U.S. commission for POW and MIA affairs, said that they had managed to meet a former Soviet airman from Kiev who had personally shot down a U.S. aircraft. The pilot said that the bomber's entire crew had perished and indicated the place where the U.S. servicemen's remains should be found.

The lists of MIA's include not only U.S. airmen shot down in the skies over Vietnam. The Russian-U.S. commission for POW affairs is also looking for information about crews of reconnaissance aircraft shot down during the Cold War by Soviet Air Defense Forces units

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in the Baltic region, Murmansk Oblast, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and in the Vladivostok area.

In 1952 a Soviet MiG fighter shot down a USAF reconnaissance aircraft in the skies over the Kuril Islands. A former Border Troops sergeant who witnessed this incident has been found.

Gen. Cherginets said that as of today he is ready to give the U.S. side information about the fate of another five U.S. Army soldiers who are still regarded as MIA's. In turn the Americans have given the Belarusian side information about 12 Belarusians who were taken prisoner and listed as MIA in Afghanistan. The next Belarusian-U.S. meeting and exchange of information is due to take place in March. But literally the other day it was learned that the Republic of Belarus Government had decided to disband Cherginets' committee. It is hard to say what prompted the "reformers." Not Christian morals, obviously. After this is it any wonder that, in the 50 years that have elapsed since the Great Patriotic War, the names of only 40,000 of the 1.5 million soldiers lying unclaimed on Belarusian soil have been established?

Yeltsin Faced Terrorist Threat on Eve of Minsk Visit

LD2802185195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Feb 28 (Interfax-West)—A telephone call was registered on the eve of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Minsk on February 21-22 which told of a terrorist act which was being prepared against Yeltsin, a source in Belarus' Interior Ministry reported to Interfax.

He reported that the republic's interior bodies carried out reinforced measures to ensure the security of the members of the Russian delegation. As many as 3,000 Interior Forces servicemen, over 2,000 employees of the road patrol service and students of the higher militia school were involved in this.

However, as the source reassured, militiamen were troubled not by the telephone call with a threat against the president (every day about eight telephone calls informing of preparations for terrorist acts are registered in Belarus) but by a threat from the Chechens who, in his absence, sentenced Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who took part in the governmental delegation in Minsk, to the death penalty for hostilities against Chechnya.

The republic's Interior Ministry reassured our correspondent that there were no incidents connected with an attempt upon the life of members of the Russian delegation in Belarus.

Lukashenka Addresses Veterans, Outlines Policy

WS2802123095 Minsk BTK Television Network in Belarusian 1940 GMT 23 Feb 95

[Speech by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to a group of veterans in the House of Officers in Minsk on 23 February—recorded, in Russian]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Veterans, Generals and Officers, Sergeants, Soldiers, and Cadets! Dear Comrades!

I congratulate you and heartily welcome you on the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus. This holiday is a symbol of unity and continuity of all the generations that have defended our fatherland, a symbol of unity of the people and the Army during our centuries-old history. It is a holiday of the present soldiers—rank defenders of our Republic of Belarus. It is a holiday of a truly national nature, because there is no single family in Belarus without links to the Army, both in the past and the present. Today, on the eve of a great historical event—the 50th anniversary of our common and indivisible victory—this is being felt still more acutely. Immense is our reverence and gratitude to frontline heroes, renowned partisans and conspirators, and all valorous war veterans. A deep bow to you, dear veterans, to all those, to whom the country obliges its freedom and victory. On my behalf and on the behalf of the political leadership of the Republic, I declare that we do not allow anybody to belittle your heroic deeds, your military orders and medals. Be proud to wear them! [applause] Do not be ashamed of your victories! These are the symbols of your honor and your courage, a great example to follow by future generations. At the meeting of the heads of CIS states in Almaty, we agreed that all the veterans of the Great Patriotic War, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War, will be awarded an order bearing the name of an outstanding military leader, the marshal of the Soviet Union, Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov. [applause]

The Belarusian people have made great sacrifices in the name of freedom. We will forever remember the fallen on the field of battle, those burned alive in Khatyn [village near Minsk burned with its inhabitants by Nazis during World War II], the victims of Trostyanets [Nazi concentration camp in Belarus], as well as those hanged and shot in fascist torture chambers. Our pain and grief for the lost ones will never abate. Without their heroic lives offered to the fatherland, there would not be the present day—difficult and hard, but peaceful and free, a day boding well for the future. To our deep regret, the country has not been able to provide you—who have borne the brunt of that terrible war and lived through to the present day—with many things that you have deserved by right. This is how it has happened, but we will not look for culprits this evening. We will work, we will rescue and improve what can be rescued and improved.

Our main and priority task is the economy. If we manage to bring it out of its deep crisis—as for me, I do not doubt it any more—we will establish a normal life for the people, relieve society from political tension, strengthen the belief that our Belarusian people are able to build, and will build, their life according to their wish—at any rate, no worse than other nations. To achieve this goal,

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we carry out our work both in our country and abroad. We adopt system measures to strengthen our monetary policy and integrate ties with Commonwealth countries, as well as activate businesslike cooperation with Western partners on the governmental level and with individual firms and enterprises.

We attach special importance to our cooperation with brotherly Russia. The day before yesterday, I signed a comprehensive bilateral treaty on friendship, good-neighborliness, and cooperation with President Boris Yeltsin. I think that this treaty has marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of a qualitatively new one in our mutual relations with Russia. On the level of the leadership of the Republics, on both sides, a necessary political and legal mechanism has been created for accomplishing a true economic union, a union that does not humiliate our people and in no way limits our political sovereignty. [applause]

Esteemed Comrades! Aside from my text, I would like to break this just received information to you. Yesterday, having returned back to Moscow and not going back to his city residence, Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] invited virtually the entire government to the airport and said: If any single agreement achieved in Belarus is broken by the Government of Russia, those members of the government will no longer be in the government. [applause]

All this, in the long run, should alleviate our burden of reforming the economy and halt negative trends in the national economy and in the conditions of people's life. Are there any reassuring results of our work? Yes, there are, even if many people do not want to see them. These results do exist. I have already stated in my addresses that by the end of the last year and in the end of this year we managed to halt a slump in industrial production, maintain the budget deficit within acceptable limits, and adopt measures for improving the hard currency exchange rate of our hare [nickname for Belarusian currency]. It is almost two months since the exchange rate of our currency against the dollar has been stabilized, and this was accomplished without any artificial means. I made a promise in the fall, and we, along with the Cabinet of Ministers, have kept that promise—the Republic has lived through the winter not only without catastrophic consequences, but in general without any serious negative consequences. However, credit should also be given to the nature—it has understood our situation and considerably assisted us this winter. True, successes are few for the time being. There is only a very thin layer of ice, over which our economy is moving, trying to reach the other shore marked—normal life. We know that the people's patience is not boundless. The people are living a hard life. Under such circumstances, it is very easy to play on people's discontent. However, regardless of how pleasant the talks and promises made by diverse well-wishers may be, regardless of how heartening their theoretical project of doing much good for the people may be, it is very difficult to quickly change the situation in the country for the better. It is difficult to revert the life in our state to normal, whereas it is very easy to upset the situation of stability and tranquility. Therefore, I frankly support the idea of civic and nationwide concord, an idea born by life itself and approved by the majority of our people. Without this concord, the task of achieving true success is more than difficult.

Esteemed veterans, our dear participants in the Patriotic War! I know that you are suffering it still much harder than we, healthy people at their jobs today. Therefore, a month ago, I entrusted the government and our trade unions with the task of working out a program of social protection for the population under these complex circumstances. I report to you that the president, in literally a few days' time, will sign an edict on the development of this program and the government will adopt a resolution on the twofold increase in the minimal wage and the setting of the first-grade wage at 100,000 rubles. The bank deposits... [pauses] It is already two weeks as we are looking for ways to refinance and compensate the population's lost deposits. We are specifying those deposits, recalculating them according to the exchange rate, and are going to implement, already beginning this year, a program of compensation for deposits lost because of inflation. [applause]

Regardless of how great and significant our economic problems may be, we are obliged to move forward in every sphere of building the state system. This is the most complex trait of the building of a state system in a transitional period. We move steadfastly, adhering to the principle: Make thrifty use of what you have, break as little as possible, build better and safer.

Military security is one of the most important sectors of the building of our state system. We are moving consistently and purposefully toward our constitutional goal to make the territory of Belarus a nonnuclear zone and Belarus itself a neutral [neutralnyy] state. However, in resolving this task, we proceed from the concrete situation in foreign policies and geopolitics. Regarding the nonnuclear state, the resolution has been made irrevocably. Regarding the other problems of military security, we continually ask ourselves questions, and you will understand me when I explain why. Is neutrality able today to give us security? Will we be given a possibility to remain neutral in the classic way? What are the guarantees of neutrality to our state in this complex world? Will we not be losers by making neutrality a next idol to set our hopes upon without seeing what is happening around?

Deep changes in relations between states provide conditions for the creation of a new type of the system of national security that can be based not only on the balance of power, but also on the balance of interests, cooperation, and trust. In actual practice, this is the way we do things. We improve relations with all countries and gain as many friends and partners as possible, while avoiding to provoke hostile sentiments and intentions with regard to our Republic. We have no enemies today.

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We have established and continue to improve good relations with all our neighbors—Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and others. We are deepening and expanding ties with the majority of states in West and East. However, it is naive to think that the reorientation of the security system toward the priority of political means will advance smoothly and quickly. One cannot fail to see that today, side by side with the trend to seek accord in the global development, another trend also manifests itself, a trend to confront interests, seek complete dominance, and expand spheres of influence. One cannot write off regional armed conflicts, too. There exists a dangerous possibility for Belarus to become a zone of contact between coalitions of states with different political orientation and find itself in the geographical center of, or in the immediate proximity to the intersecting spheres of their interests. Under such circumstances, one cannot be an idealist who does not realize that taking care about security of our state remains a reality of our time. The expanding possibilities for achieving security by political means do not exclude, for the time being, the need for other means.

On behalf of the Republic, we participate in the CIS collective security system. We signed a number of documents devoted to the development of our relations in this sphere during the last CIS summit in Almaty. In particular, we reached an agreement on the unification of our efforts in the sphere of air defense. There is a rapprochement on mutually advantageous conditions with Russia under way. During the Russian president's visit, we signed an agreement on joint efforts for the protection of the state border of the Republic of Belarus. According to this agreement, Russia will assist us in equipping [obustroystvo] our western border and, first and foremost, that with the Baltic states. The protection of this border also affects the protection of Russia's interests. Along with this, I would like to reiterate my steadfast position before this audience with regard to the following. Military cooperation of the Republic of Belarus with other CIS countries will be implemented on the following condition: Not one of our Belarusian servicemen will fight outside the borders of our country. Our interests are where the possessions of our people lie. The possessions of our people and the interests of our people are on the plot of our land that bears the name of Belarus. Our servicemen will defend only this land. [applause]

At the same time, the process of developing bilateral and multilateral ties with other countries is being made more active, both on issues of military cooperation and in other spheres. We are open to cooperation; we are implementing a program for developing relations in the military sector with Western countries. Belarus signed the framework agreement of the Partnership for Peace program. This agreement is being perceived equivocally in different circles of our society. Therefore, I would like to underscore that this agreement does not impose any self-contained obligations on us, while providing a possibility for participating in the resolution of the most complex European problems and increasing the level of our Republic's influence on peace processes. I underscore and stress, particularly to veterans, that our Republic signed this program as the very last country, following the signing of this program by all the other republics of the former Soviet Union. However, we have limited our participation in this program to its exclusively informative aspect, the training of appropriate cadres, and the conversion of our production sector. The signing of this program does not imply anything in the area of military cooperation or even the holding of joint exercises. The world is changing, and we cannot be the prisoners of permanently fixed formulas that do not meet the new situation. For example, today we have to implement many elements of the Conventional Armed Forces Treaty that was signed as far back as under circumstances of confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Our scrupulosity in the implementation of this treaty has been noted on numerous occasions. The world values this. Along with this, we announce that we also must be understood. The implementation of the treaty on disarmament requires many funds that we do not have for this purpose. To resolve this problem, one needs active contacts and interaction with other countries. I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that this treaty was concluded when there were the two military-political blocs in the world, which constituted a global military-strategical and military-political parity, and canceled each other out. Today, this has vanished. The parity is being upset. Former Warsaw Pact members are actively seeking individual NATO membership today. Therefore, I, as commander in chief of the Armed Forces, have ordered the defense minister to suspend [priostanovit] the destruction of armaments on the territory of the Republic of Belarus. [applause]

The Armed Forces always were, and will always be, the state's indispensable attribute. The Army is one of the guarantors of our country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Any other view of this issue is, mildly speaking, out of place. I will mark once again that the lack of any direct military threat at the present time does not, in the least, imply that this will never occur in the future. There is, however, also another side of this issue. At every qualitatively new stage of the development of a state, its Armed Forces and entire military system should exactly correspond to its political tasks, the international and internal situation, and its socioeconomic capabilities. While building our nation's statehood, we should also create a national system for its protection. We are becoming more and more assured that we do not need a large army. We need a mobile, well-trained army with good socioeconomic protection of servicemen, which enjoy support of the people ready and apt to defend their country and fatherland along with the Army. Having analyzed our own experience, albeit not extensive, we have become convinced that the steps taken toward reforming the Army do not meet the interests of state security to the full extent, both at present and in the future. The need for making the military system less

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expensive has not been taken into account to a sufficient extent. There is a ripe need in the Republic for implementing military reform as a complex of scientifically grounded, political, economic, ideological, legal, and organizational measures that can be accomplished under a resolution by the higher bodies of state power, measures united by a common idea and common timeframes. By virtue of this, the state and society will express their responsibility and care about the Army, and Army problems will cease to be the concern of the military department alone.

Earlier this year, under a presidential directive, a working group of civilians and servicemen was created to work out a draft concept of military reform; to prepare a number of other proposals to support the country's defense capabilities and the buildup of the Armed Forces, as well as to enhance the prestige of military service; and to ground the need for changing and amending laws on defense and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus, as well as our military doctrine. It must be said that today the drafting by this commission is being performed on the basis of laws and a concept of reforms, which have already been adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Today, as I already said, this concept needs to be seriously specified and corrected. In early March, the first documents prepared by the working group will be examined by the Security Council of the Republic of Belarus and, following this, will be submitted, if need be, to the Supreme Soviet.

The Armed Forces, while safeguarding the external security, at the same time has significant influence on all spheres of internal policy, as well. The Army, through its self-discipline, inner firmness, and the bringing up of young people, exerts an influence on people's spirits, promotes the stabilization of the constitutional system, and disallows light-minded attitudes toward the observance of law and order under extreme circumstances of coming out of the crises. I speak about this intentionally, because these days there is much gossip about the police state, the relations between the authorities and the power structures, and the legality of drawing the Army in the performance of certain internal functions. One should not forget the times in which we are living. Unruliness, complete license, and spiritual and economic arbitrariness are often presented as democratic values. Every action on the part of authorities to restore law, discipline, and legal order is being put to severe criticism and blamed for violating human rights. Steam-rolling criticism, and sometimes even more than that, is being primarily brought down on the Belarusian president. Similar cases of hypocrisy have already turned into human tragedies in many republics of the former Soviet Union. I, as president, do not want, and will not allow, to repeat this tragic experience in Belarus, because this experience convincingly shows [that] the limits between demagogic prattles of democracy and true democracy, with its superior values—the human right to life, health, labor—can easily be eroded. This cannot be allowed. [applause] True democracy means primarily law and order—the same for everybody, the safety of people, and the protection of their homes and property. It is democracy that we will protect with all means available for us. The Army should stand outside any party, outside the political struggle—this is true. However, the Army is a part of the state; state interests and policy are sacred for the Army. This must be clearly realized by all those who have recently blamed the Armed Forces for all conceivable and inconceivable sins, but today begin shedding crocodile tears with respect to the Army. Our Army will be the Army of the Republic of Belarus, not the Army of any political party, group, or movement. This also must be realized by everybody.

There were, and are, no interethnic contradictions or conflicts in the Armed Forces of Belarus. There prevails a strong spirit of interethnic mutual understanding, which was instilled many decades ago in the struggle against fascism, when the backbone of military collectives and the officer corps comprised representatives of all nationalities, primarily Belarusians, Russians, and Ukrainians. Our Army is the sphere of national peace. There is no need to try to violate it. Today, society should treat the Armed Forces so as, on the one hand, to prevent its depreciation and, the more so, its defamation, while on the other—to help remove existing deformities and negative phenomena.

On the eve of the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus, I managed to visit the Pukhavichy garrison and meet its officers, warrant officers, sergeants, soldiers, and servicemen's families. I saw with my own eyes that, in spite of committed errors, shortages, and existing problems in the social sphere, the servicemen, without any idealization, maintain high morals, good spirits, and adherence to the president's course. The soldiers also honestly discharge their duty to the fatherland and the people, showing assiduity, discipline, endurance, and an understanding of the situation of Belarus and its political leadership.

Esteemed Veterans and Servicemen of the Armed Forces! By marking the Day of Fatherland's Defenders and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus, we bow our heads to the heroic deed of the people and honor the memory of heroes fallen for the happiness and freedom of our fatherland. Regardless of any attempts to revise our recent past, the people will not allow themselves to be deceived. This is the sign of the people's vitality and strength. We can go nowhere from this, and we do not need to. Let peace and accord, friendship and cooperation triumph forever on our Belarusian land! I congratulate you, my dear ones, on your holiday once again. I wish you every success, happiness, and well being. [applause]

Moldova

Smirnov, OSCE Official Discuss Crisis Settlement

AU0103113895 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2132 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol INFOTAG, 28/2/1995—The problems of the Dniester political settlement and ways to boost the Dniester status negotiations

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were discussed at a meeting between Philip Hahn, Head of the OSCE Permanent Mission to Moldova, and the Dniester Administration, held in Tiraspol Monday, 27 February.

The sides have agreed that "the negotiation process must be continued and made more concrete." Dniester President Igor Smirnov has stated that for the Tiraspol side it is principally important to have the "region's state legal status," while Chisinau insists just on "special status."

The participants in yesterday's meeting acknowledged it expedient that the status expert groups continue their work. During the half-year of their activity, the experts have already worked out several draft variants. However, all of them were declined at the Chisinau-Tiraspol summits. At the latest one, on 15 February, the sides discussed only the distribution of plenary powers and competence between Moldova and the Dniester Republic. The experts teams' propositions were declined once again, and they were requested to work out new ones.

Philip Hahn and Igor Smirnov discussed the possibility of involving Ukraine, as an intermediary, in the negotiations. Dniester had many times spoken in favor of that.

During the last week's visit to Moldova of Hennadiy Udovenko, Ukrainian foreign minister, this problem was tackled during his talks with the Moldovan leadership, the OSCE mission, and the Russian special envoy, and nobody offered any objections then. It was decided to outline the Ukrainian participation and its role as an additional guarantor of the peaceful settlement of the Dniester problem.

The Moldovan leadership and the Dniester Administration are looking forward to the next summit. It is scheduled for 15 March so far, but due to languid preparations the meeting may be postponed. Local observers are relating a possible postponement due to the fact that President Snegur will take his annual leave starting from 1 March.

Russia's Gasprom Cuts Gas Due To Unpaid Bills

AU0103112695 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2132 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau INFOTAG, 28/2/1995—The Russian concern Gasprom cut gas supplies to Moldova on Monday [27 February] night.

According to Ion Grau, deputy director general of the Moldovagas state concern, the supply was cut due to a huge indebtedness ($190 million) of the Moldovan Republic to Gasprom for the fuel already consumed.

Some time earlier, Gasprom demanded from Moldova to reduce the consumption by half, i.e. down to 5.7 million cubic meters a day. The right bank [Moldovan] consumers obeyed, while Dniester neglected the order, although 40 percent of the above debt is owed by that region.

As INFOTAG came to know, on Tuesday [28 February] noon the pressure in the pipeline network dropped drastically—from the standard 3 atmospheres down to 0.6 atmospheres. Fuel was only scarcely available to consumers located close to gas pumping stations.

A special governmental commission headed by Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Kunev was busy discussing the situation since Tuesday morning. Parallel to this, top Moldovan officials negotiated the issue with Gasprom over the telephone. Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli discussed the situation with Vladimir Plechko, Russian ambassador to Moldova.

The aforementioned Moldovagas boss assured our correspondent that "Chisinau citizens will be warming up their dinners on their gas stoves this evening—without problems."

Plan Denied To 'Compromise' Gagauz Referendum

AU2802143795 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 25 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 25/2/1995—The referendum on annexing several multiethnic localities to Gagauz Yeri-Gagauzia will be held as scheduled, even though there are people in the South or in Chisinau who oppose the implementation of the Gaguz-Yeri law, deputy speaker Dumitru Motpan told BASAPRESS. The situation in southern Moldova is under control since the Moldovan Agrarian Democratic Party (PDAM) has representations there, including in Comrat, said Motpan. Under these conditions there are premises for holding the April 16 local elections all over Moldova, except the eastern districts. According to Motpan, Comrat's request to prolong the period for collecting signatures in favor of the referendum is unfounded since such concessions were accepted earlier. He pointed out that the statements that Chisinau gave orders to compromise the referendum defies any logic, since it was the ruling party that favored a special status for Gagauzia. The impression that registration of lists is protracted is due to the checks to exclude any fraud that could later prompt the annulment of all lists.

PSDM Official: Socialism Means 'Gulag'

AU2802125295 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 25 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 25/2/1995—There is no confrontation of personal ambitions, but a confrontation of two options for the future of social democracy in Moldova, said Oazu Nantoi, Moldovan Social Democratic Party (PSDM) leader, at the opening of the third PSDM Congress. The advocates of the first option favor an alliance with the leftist forces and change of the PSDM name into the Moldovan Social-Democratic Party of Labor. Nantoi said that this group does not believe that the PSDM can gain "the power" on its own, since, like in the other ex-communist

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countries, the electorate supports leftist parties. According to the advocates of this idea, this is the only way the PSDM can have seats in the Parliament and once at power it can popularize the ideas of social democracy. The second option, subscribed to by Oazu Nantoi, presupposed the preservation of the current PSDM orientation and fortification of its regional branches. Viorel Cibotaru of the PSDM Political Council, former presidential adviser, did not rule out the possibility of collaboration with some leftist parties. However, he vehemently opposed the alliance with the Socialists or Communists, adding that "socialism means first of all GULAG." Victor Josu of the PSDM Political Council said that the Social- Democrats should widen their relations with the ruling party arguing that the PSDM "is in constructive opposition." Anatol Taran, PSDM deputy chairman and former Moldovan ambassador to Moscow, pleaded for the extension of cooperation with Moldova's leftist forces. He was supported by other speakers. The congress is attended by about 120 delegates who will have to adopt a new statute and program and elect a new chairman during two days.

Communists Oppose Electoral Bloc With Socialists

AU0103120495 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 2132 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau INFOTAG, 28/2/1995—"By the end of 1995 the Moldovan Communist Party [PCM] will have as many as 40-50 thousand members," Vladimir Voronin, first secretary of the PCM, forecast at the plenum of the party's central committee today. He reminded that before August 1991 the PCM had 200 thousand members. The membership may reach 50 thousand if by the end of the year each communist brings 10 former CPSU [Soviet Union Communist Party] members back to the party, and is active in recruiting new young members.

The plenum participants offered a supposition that a part of the former communists, who have not yet been re-registered, is being counted for by the founders of a new political force emerging currently: the Party of Democratic Socialism. Its organizer is Yevgeniy Sobor, former secretary of the Central Committee of the former Communist Party of Moldova. Some observers believe that some day the new party will be headed by Petru Lucinschi, parliament speaker at present.

Vladimir Voronin said that if communists form a single bloc with the socialists at the forthcoming elections, which is actively sought by the latter, then the PCM will lose a considerable part of votes in rural areas. In his view, this would be a "luxury" and in favor of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova [PDAM—currently the ruling party], which the communists just cannot afford.

They believe that by avoiding the direct election of local power body leaders (by law, local leaders shall be nominated by the Moldovan president out of the list of elected deputies, as "councillors,") the ruling party, whose member President Mircea Snegur is, "is going to place 'the right people' in local power bodies." They also believe that the chief task of the new local bosses will be "to work hard to organize the 1996 presidential elections properly."

The MCP plenum has discussed measures to prepare for the 50th anniversary of the victory in the World War II, and problems related to the issue of the party's nationwide newspaper, COMMUNIST MOLDOVIY. Currently, five communist newspapers are issued by PCM subdivisions in the localities.

Start of Land Privatization Reported

954F1401A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by S. Gamova: "Five Thousand Dollars for a Hectare of Moldovan Chernozem"]

[FBIS Translated Text] That is the minimum price set by the parliament of Moldova for potential landowners. In each concrete case, its upper limit will depend on its position on the soil fertility scale. Plots that are used today in crop rotation will be the most expensive.

The land is being distributed to peasants, and it can be inherited or sold. But not all of it and not right away.

By law one-half of the 2.6 million hectares under crops, orchards, vineyards, and pastures is not subject to privatization. Sovkhozes, sovkhoz plants, and branch scientific research institutes remain state property. For the most part, these are viticultural and wine-making establishments—the business card of Moldova. The state is not placing the branch yielding the most revenue into the hands of others. Even though, as commonly known, there are no rules without exceptions. The Krikov producer of sparkling wines, which is well known in the republic, has already organized production of sparkling wines under the brand name of the Seabeco-Moldova Firm.

Supporters of state monopoly in land ownership, and there are quite a few of them in the republic and in its parliament, had to yield to the "market supporters," the president being one of their active adherents.

Around a million persons, living in rural areas, will receive a land ownership certificate. By contrast with neighboring Romania, however, where land reform is being conducted in favor of former owners, it is true, with a limitation—not more than 10,000 hectares per owner—in Moldova kolkhoz lands are being divided among members of collective farms. The slogan of the People's Front, "Land to Former Owners," did not get much support, inasmuch as quite a few of those "former owners" now live in Romania.

Because of the small size of private allotments (on the average in Moldova they fluctuate between two and two

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and a half hectares), many peasants prefer to unite into small joint farming enterprises, expecting to save on equipment as well as on land.

Optimistic reformers refer to the experience in neighboring Romania, where land reform began much earlier, in 1990. The wholesale decline in volume of production, abandoned fields—the Romanians have experienced all of that. According to Mikhail Ruzhoy, economic counselor at the Romanian Embassy in Chisinau, the grain harvest that the government purchased will be quite sufficient to satisfy the domestic market for two years.

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Kazakhstan

Kurds Want Consultation on Oil Pipeline Construction

LD2802180295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax)—Kurds will obstruct the construction of a pipeline from Caspian oilfields across the areas of Turkey under their control, Akhmed Dere, a representative of the Kurdistan National Liberation Front in the CIS, told Interfax.

"Kurds will not allow construction of an oil pipeline through their territory unless this issue is cleared with them," he said.

Dere explained that Kurds were prepared to use force to prevent the construction.

He argued that the Kurdistan area incorporated in Turkey was fully controlled by Kurdish guerrillas, the Turkish troops having only urban areas under their control.

Ankara had earlier proposed construction in Turkey of a network of pipelines from Azerbaijani and Kazakh oilfields to Mediterranean ports. It said that a pipeline could not be built in Chechnya, the Russian Federation, now. This plan was endorsed by the U.S. but strongly opposed by Russia which is involved in a Caspian Pipeline Consortium project jointly with Oman. Moscow warned Almaty and Baku of a possible negative reaction on the part of the Kurds.

Dere called on the countries and companies participating in the pipeline construction to be realistic, otherwise those who ignored the Kurds would bear full responsibility for the possible consequences.

Parliament Ratifies Kazakh-Russian Citizenship Documents

LD2802182695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ALMATY, Feb 28 (Interfax)—On Tuesday [28 February] Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet ratified the Russian-Kazakh agreement on simplified principles to acquire citizenship by those Russian citizens who come to Kazakhstan to live permanently and an agreement on the legal status of those Russian citizens who live permanently in the republic.

In an information note addressed to parliament President Nursultan Nazarbayev underlined that "these documents remove quite understandable tension which ethnic Russian and Kazakhs living outside their homeland experience; they give them an opportunity to calmly work for the good of those countries in which they are plenipotentiary citizens or are going to be plenipotentiary citizens."

According to experts, these documents remove the problems of dual citizenship in Kazakhstan.

The deputies have also prolonged the term for determining citizenship till December 31, 1995. Earlier the republic's citizens could refuse Kazakh citizenship till March 1 and then they automatically became citizens of the republic.

Tax System 'Deepening' Production Crisis

954F1513A Almaty EKSPRESS-K in Russian 23 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by Almas Nakipov, chief of a department of the Main Tax Inspectorate of the Republic of Kazakhstan Ministry of Finance: "The Tax Code: Compass in the Economic Labyrinth"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almaty—**The basis of the tax system that operates in our republic at present was created at the start of the 1990's. This system is based on a planned economy and a centralized accounting procedure. It has over several years undergone negligible changes, on the one hand becoming overgrown with every conceivable privilege and, on the other, an increase in the number of taxes, tax rates, and payments into every conceivable off-budget fund.**

Under the conditions of the current privatization and the rapid increase in private structures, the tax system, which is unadapted to the market economy, has begun to intensify the crisis state of production.

There is now an urgent need for a fundamental reform of tax legislation—the adoption of a new tax code. A draft is with the government at this time.

The draft provides for 18 taxes and other compulsory payments in place of the 45 taxes at the present time and administrative regulations specifying the status of the tax service and the rights and responsibility of both the tax employees and the taxpayers.

What is new is that legal entities and individuals engaged in economic activity will be subject to income tax, which differs from profits tax in that the tax base—taxable income—will be determined not by the method of the exclusion from earnings and non-operation income of expenditure incorporated in the prime costs of products (jobs, services) but by the method of the exclusion from aggregate annual income of the deductions specified by the provisions of the draft.

Thus, the tax base will be determined in tax legislation, not in accounting regulations. For example, the regulation pertaining to the composition of the outlays incorporated in the prime costs of products specifies that expenditure connected with the payment of sums of compensation per the results of work over the year, lump-sum remuneration for individual employees for the performance of particularly important production assignments, the payment for extra leave, and material

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assistance and certain other disbursements to the employees shall be attributed to the after-tax profit that is left at the enterprise's disposal. The draft code, however, specifies that any disbursements of monetary resources made by an enterprise to an employee, including excess payments of travel allowances and compensation payments, and also gifts subject to personal income tax, shall be deducted from aggregate annual income when taxable income is being determined.

At the same time, tax management will be based on business accounting. Individual expenditure will for taxation purposes be adjusted on the basis of the results of the tax year, and the adjustment calculations should be filed together with the return with the tax inspectorate.

It is contemplated attributing to adjustable outlays credit interest, but, as distinct from the current regulation, not only bank interest but also the interest on loans granted by other economic entities, depreciation payments (up to 100 percent for commodity producers), maintenance expenditure, and certain other outlays will be deducted.

The purpose of the new regulation, which is applied in international practice, is the taxation of the income that is actually obtained, that is, all outlays connected with the receipt of aggregate annual income are to be excluded.

The application of a single procedure of determination of taxable income for entrepreneurs—legal entities and individuals—is also a result of the fact that the recently adopted Civil Code specifies that a legal entity that is a commercial organization may be created in the form of a state enterprise, business partnership, or production cooperative. A private enterprise may not now be registered as a legal entity unless it assumes the form of business partnership, that is, unless it forms a capital fund.

Many arguments are being evoked by the question of legal entities and individuals being accorded income-tax privileges. It is common knowledge that where there are privileges, there is malfeasance also. In the first version of the draft code, the privileges were reduced to a reasonable minimum, but gradually, as a result of the pressure of certain circles, the number of privileges increased, and the letters that the Supreme Council has been receiving as of late consist mainly of proposals for the granting of various tax privileges.

At the same time, practice shows that at the enterprises formed by societies of the handicapped, which are at the present time exempt from all taxes and payments, the handicapped either do not work or work in a negligible number. Thus, at six enterprises under the auspices of public associations of the handicapped of Almaty, invalids constitute 14 percent, in Pavlodar Oblast the average number of invalids at privileged enterprises constituted nine percent, and at four enterprises of West Kazakhstan Oblast, 1 percent, and not a single invalid works at three enterprises of Zhambyl Oblast. Other enterprises hire invalids especially and avoid taxation. At the same time, on the other hand, the invalids who are on the books there mainly work at home and receive meager pay, and enterprising healthy people account for the main amount. In the last three months alone, for example, the treasury has experienced a shortfall in excise on alcoholic beverages and other excisable products brought into the republic by enterprises of the handicapped totaling more than 300 million tenge, not to mention customs duty. Were we to count the amount of all the taxes that have not been paid, the figure would be tens of times higher.

Thus, in the customs clearance of imported commodities the Zhaltas Limited-Liability Company of the Kazakh Society of the Blind of Almaty failed to make payments of 18.7 million tenge, including excise totaling 15.5 million tenge. More than 7.2 million tenge in excise were not paid to the treasury by two enterprises of the handicapped, Alyans-Inva and Azan, of Semipalatinsk Oblast, which in November-December 1994 imported alcoholic products.

The question of the privileges accorded legal aid and law offices has been raised since time immemorial. The Civil Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan specifies that enterprise is the enterprising activity of citizens and legal entities, regardless of form of ownership, aimed at the receipt of profit or personal income by way of satisfaction of the demand for commodities (jobs, services) and based on private ownership or the right of operational management of a state enterprise, and entrepreneurial activity is exercised on behalf, at the risk, and against the property liability of the entrepreneur.

Legal aid and law offices most likely took part in the drafting of the Civil Code also, but they do not for some reason or other consider their activity connected with services for which a charge is made and the receipt of profit (income) to be entrepreneurial. Auditing firms rendering legal services are entrepreneurs, apparently, but these organizations, which do the same thing, are not.

For realization of the principle of equality and the exclusion of conditions for tax evasion by way of transfer prices, it is contemplated establishing a single rate of tax for all economic entities in the amount of 30 percent.

For individuals, the rate of tax up to five times the minimum wage has been lowered from 10 to 5 percent, and this will signify more privileged conditions for the low-income strata of the populace.

A tax return will be filed by legal entities and individuals only on the results of the year, and in the course of the year current payments will be made monthly. For individuals a return will be filed only by private entrepreneurs and also citizens who have made major purchases of up to 1,000 times the minimum wage and who have accounts in foreign banks.

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The next type of tax is value-added tax, which has come to replace turnover tax and which has been in operation in our republic since the start of 1992.

Value-added tax is the most efficient indirect tax and is applied by 87 developing and developed countries of the world. This tax is not incorporated in the prime costs of output and for this reason does not influence the formation of the price of a product depending on the number of redistributions or resales. It is self-policed because it forces the taxpayers when purchasing commodities and making other outlays to demand the records reflecting the value- added tax so that the amount of this tax obtained from the customer and paid to the treasury may be reduced.

The draft Tax Code perfects the VAT and raises it to international standards. This concerns the introduction of compulsory invoices and account books for the realization and consideration of outlays for VAT purposes, which will also facilitate the computation of enterprises' taxable income, the application of a common procedure of the computation of VAT both in industry and in trade, the application of a single rate of VAT, and the taxation of imports.

The abolition of the VAT and the introduction of a sales tax in mutual relations between economic entities would signify an appreciable increase in prices. The European and the majority of other countries have abandoned such a tax and switched to VAT.

The introduction of one type of sales tax (as in the United States) would signify a considerable reduction in the receipt of indirect taxes, since it would be collected only in retail trade, and, with the absence of computer control, there would be mass evasion of this tax—the sale of commodities by the industrial enterprises to the public directly, for example.

A sales tax would create unequal conditions for economic entities. Besides, the United States is planning in the very near future to introduce a value-added tax, having abolished the sales tax.

Excise, a tax on securities transactions, payments to the state employment assistance fund, tolls collected from legal entities for the use of highways, special taxes and payments from the users of mineral resources, a charge for the sale of gasoline and diesel fuel, a tax on transport facilities, a timber fee, a land tax, a tax on the assets of legal entities and individuals, stamp tax, the fee for the registration of individuals engaging in entrepreneurial activity and legal entities, the State Automobile Inspection fee, the payment for water, the charge for the right to engage in particular types of activity, and the fee for auction sales are the other types of taxes and charges.

At the same time, on the other hand, such types of taxes and charges as payments into the Fund for Conversion of the Economy and of the users of motor highways and to the Enterprise Support Fund, the charge for the development of urban mass transit, and others, which have been a heavy burden on economic entities, have been excluded from the former.

For the efficient work of the tax authorities, it is essential to give each taxpayer a registration number. This work is already being performed. But without the computerization of the tax authorities, the registration of all payers and control of the income they receive are be impossible. Work on the computerization of the tax inspectorates began in the republic several years ago, therefore. Computer programs were devised last year with the aid of international experts on a plan for the modernization of the tax inspectorates, but the monetary resources determined in the republic budget were not allocated, and as a result not only were the tax inspectorates unable to increase the efficiency of their work, foreign partners were let down also. At the same time, international practice shows that the states that economize on the tax service experience a revenue shortfall tens and, at times, hundreds of times more.

The draft code specifies that the taxpayer must keep his accounting records pertaining to taxes for five years. But if a legal entity or individual filing a return to the tax inspectorate does not maintain these papers or destroys them, the tax authorities will on the basis of direct and indirect information themselves determine the amounts of the taxes and preseat them to the taxpayer with penalties. Direct and indirect evidence may be obtained in the banks serving the taxpayer, at the enterprises with which he has had dealings, from the testimony of the citizens, and so forth.

In order to extend taxes to concealed and shadow income, a procedure of the determination of income in accordance with the citizens' actual revenue is applied worldwide.

Thus, if a citizen gives on his tax return an annual income totaling, say, 60,000 tenge and in the course of the year purchases an automobile for 500,000 tenge and an apartment for 400,000 tenge and cannot explain the origin of the amounts that he has spent, he will be forced to pay tax with penalties on a total income of the order of 960,000 tenge. Whether the income is legitimate or illegitimate will be decided by the court, and its investigation could take years, but the aim of the tax service is to tax any income in the year in which it was received.

At the present time the shortfall in treasury receipts is of a catastrophic nature. As of 1 February of this year, the tax arrears left over from last year even constituted 9.2 billion tenge, whereas the treasury received in January only 6.6 billion tenge. As a result, the publicly funded organizations of the social sphere cannot for months on end obtain the funds for wages, and the measures specified by the budget are not being financed. The draft code, however, contains a mechanism for the elimination of the tax- payment arrears which goes as far as to use the taxpayer's assets for the elimination of the

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arrears via specialized auctions. This procedure will, naturally, be engaged in accordance with a ruling of the court. In addition, it is contemplated transferring the structure of the tax authorities to a functional basis, where one department will deal only with the elimination of arrears and the assurance that returns are filed.

Certain tax authorities are failing to return or are returning belatedly in accordance with a claim of the taxpayers in writing the overpayment of taxes. -The draft code specifies that in the event of the tardy return of the amount of the tax overpayment following a claim by the taxpayer of excessive tax withholding, the amounts shall be returned to the taxpayer with the payment of interest in the amount of 1.5 times the credit rate established by the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the day that these amounts are paid for each day of the delinquency.

Despite the objective need for a reform of the tax system, a reduction in the tax burden, and the transition to international principles of taxation, the draft Tax Code has sufficient enemies. It remains to be hoped that the set course of the elaboration and adoption of market laws, which will create the conditions for our republic's emergence from the crisis, will continue.

Hydrologist Reviews Aral, Caspian Shifts

95WN0103A Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by hydrogeologist Nikolay Rotar under the rubric "A Bill From Nature": "The Aral Is Asking for Water. Where Do We Get It?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aktyubinsk—How can we save the Aral Sea? Various projects are proposed from time to time, some of them pure science fiction. One Armenian scientist proposes to set up a 1,000 wind wheels that would pump the water into fountains in the west and the evaporated water would then be moved by the wind to the east and fall onto arid areas in the form of precipitation. This is not even worth an argument—such a system, even if it worked flawlessly, would produce no more than one-tenth of a cubic kilometer of water.

A teacher at the Kokshetau Pedagogical Institute (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 10 August 1994) is convinced that rain to fill the sea may be produced by cooling moist air by cold carbon dioxide in the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Filling this sea would require 1,000 cubic km of water, which is contained in 1 million cubic km of air. To cool it will require 100 million tonnes of carbon dioxide, and to deliver this carbon dioxide up will take 1 million flights! How much raw material, fuel, and equipment will have to be spent to manufacture such a quantity of carbon dioxide? It truly would be cheaper to fill the Aral Sea with water brought over manually from the Caspian Sea.

There is also a design to build a canal and pump water 40 meters up from the Caspian to the Aral Sea. A 450 meter-long canal with an average height of 20 m will require a displacement of 1 cubic km of soil. The cost—1 trillion tenge. Keeping in mind that the Aral Sea evaporates by 60 cubic km of water a year, covering this evaporation alone would require 6,000 pumps with a capacity of 1,000 cubic meters an hour, with a total power of 2,000 megawatts. Some dreamers wanted to turn around the northerly flow of rivers to make them fall into the Aral Sea.

Let us look at things realistically. Let us ask ourselves a question: How come for millions of years the Aral Sea did not dry up, the Caspian Sea did not overflow, and now suddenly one dries up and the other overflows simultaneously? The point is that the Caspian-Aral system should be considered as one integral whole. The Caspian Sea used to evaporate 446 cubic km a year, which was carried to the mountains of Pamir and Tian Shan and from there via the Syrdarya and Anudarya rivers into the Aral Sea. When the drainage from the Caspian Sea to Kara-Bogaz-Gol bay was closed off, evaporation dropped to 371 cubic km a year, and now the Caspian Sea has 800 cubic km "surplus" water, and the Aral Sea is 800 cubic km short on water—what an enviable coincidence.

When the drainage was opened up, the area of the Caspian Sea increased to 396 square km and evaporation increased to 396 cubic km.

The point is that bays are provided by nature: Their shallow waters allow the sun's rays to warm up not only the water but also the bottom of the bay, thus evaporating more water than from the sea—by a factor of three or four from the same area.

Bays should work like "steam-boilers," working on solar energy and evaporating 75 cubic km of water a year, and the Caspian Sea thus becomes similar to a sea with outflowing rivers, like Baykal with Angara, flowing out of it. Therefore, dams should be built at Caspian bays, with built-in drainage regulators that would support the optimum water level while providing maximum evaporation. Perhaps we should consider building artificial bays, which will cost considerably less that cyclopic projects envisaging the transfer of water from the Caspian to the Aral Sea through canals or pipes.

Kyrgyzstan

Outcome of Parliamentary Elections Viewed

954F1569A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Akylbek Dydyrov: "The Next Elections Will Be Truly Democratic. So Thinks Republic President Askar Akayev"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The passions aroused by the elections to the new bicameral parliament, the Zhogorku Kenesh, are not subsiding. During the course of the first round, which took place on 5 February, only 16 deputies made it to the high legislative organ (of the 105 envisioned by the Constitution). Now the preliminary results of the second round, held on 19 February, have been made public.

In the republic as a whole 78 people have already been elected to both chambers—28 to the Legislative Assembly, which operates with 30 permanent members, and 50 to the Assembly of People's Representatives, which is supposed to function session by session. The entire preelection and election marathon proceeded with an extremely strained rhythm, with 10 or more candidates running for each position, many of them stopping at nothing to win votes. The Central Election Commission is now being flooded with complaints from losing candidates, who are accusing their winning rivals of the grossest violations of the law. Various deviations from the legitimate election procedure were noted by both local and foreign observers, who have become an indispensable element of the current elections. There are also complaints against the Central Election Commission, whose resignations were demanded a couple of days ago at a rally in Bishkek.

The people of Kyrgyzstan regard the loss by parliament's ex-speaker Medetkan Sherimkulov in the second round as a local scandal. His supporters have already organized picketing of the local White House in this connection, demanding a review of the results of the voting and saying that the reasons for the failure of the powerful campaign was the resistance organized against Sherimkulov.

Noting that three representatives of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan have joined parliament, local politicians state that there are many more "unofficial" communists in it. It is already clear that the new Zhogorku Kenesh will be multinational. According to preliminary figures, Russians are represented in it by only five deputies, Uzbeks—by seven, and there is almost no point in speaking about the representation of other nationalities.

In a number of districts the elections were declared invalid and repeat elections will now take place in two months. Will this be a long enough time to take into account the truly unexpected lessons of the last two rounds? What will the new parliament ultimately be like—a viable legislative organ or a "Pandora's box" which does not resolve but exacerbates problems and negative tendencies in the society? Today this is disturbing not only politicians and state figures but also rank-and-file people of Kyrgyzstan, who, in spite of pessimistic predictions, have again demonstrated a fairly high degree of election activity.

In the opinion of President Askar Akayev himself, costs during the course of the election campaign were inevitable. "We are all people of Kyrgyzstan," said Akayev, "we are still in the primary school of democracy and so far we perceive it, perhaps, only with our minds and not with our hearts." On the day of the second round of voting the president expressed the hope that the next elections would be truly democratic, honest, free, and competitive. In his words, today many people have understood that the current Law on Elections does not correspond either to the specific features of Kyrgyzstan or to the mentality of its people. Even though there were quotas for ethnic minorities and women, if some of the deputies were elected from party lists and lists from public organizations, then the people of Kyrgyzstan would have had a parliament which better reflected the structure of the people and society, Akayev thinks. "But in a democratic rule-of-law state, which Kyrgyzstan is building, there must be supremacy of the law, and therefore I, as president, think that we must conduct the current elections in compliance with the existing law," Akayev said on the day of the second round of elections.

Public Commission Formed To Monitor By-Elections

LD2802174395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Askar Akayev formed a public commission for elections to Kyrgyzstan's two-chamber parliament.

Designed to monitor by-elections in a number of electoral districts, the commission will include 34 representatives of political parties and movements as well as scientific and cultural workers.

As the president's press service explained to Interfax, a major task of the commission will be to closely study voters' complaints which point to law violations committed in the first and second round of elections.

The main idea of many complaints is the call for dissolving the Central Electoral Commission and suspending the process of elections.

Observers in Bishkek doubt that Akayev will respond to such radical appeals positively.

As the president's press secretary Kamil Bayalinov told Interfax, "the holding of the first session of the newly-elected parliament depends on the wish of newly-elected deputies. The president's attitude to this is that he will not interfere in this process."

In an interview with journalists given after the 2nd round of elections Akayev conceded that "gross violations" had taken place during the election campaign. He said that some voters had been bribed and that some results of voting had been falsified. Nevertheless the president is confident that on the whole the elections

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were conducted in accordance with democratic norms, and that they were "free and based on contest."

According to Akayev, a major lesson taught by the election campaign and particularly by its final stage is the obvious need to use the proportional-majority system of forming parliament. He believes that it would make it possible to allot quotas for ethnic minorities and women, and enable some deputies to be elected under party lists or the lists of public organizations. Akayev thinks that under such a scheme Kyrgyzstan could have a parliament reflecting the real structure of society.

90 members of the 105-seat parliament have already been elected. This makes it possible to convene the parliament for a session without waiting for by-elections. It is believed that the parliament may convene for its first session on March 9.

Iranian Economic Mission Opens in Osh

LD2802183695 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A representative office of the Iranian Province of Khorasan has opened in Osh. The agreement on trade and economic relations between Osh region of the Kyrgyz Republic and Khorasan Province of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which was signed in December last year, has stimulated the development of diversified relations between the twin-regions and opened up broad prospects for contacts between various economic fields and for enterprise structures.

Head of the office Zarafshat Majit has a lot to do. There are many interesting requests by local managers and businessmen and from tourist companies. An Osh-Mashhad bus route has been established and the Osh aviators are preparing to begin a regular air bridge by modified Yak planes to the capital of Khorasan Province.

Tajikistan

UN Deputy Secretary General Arrives in Dushanbe

LD2802181195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Feb 28 (Interfax)—U.N. deputy Secretary General Aldo Ajello arrived in Dushanbe Tuesday [28 February].

The head of the Tajik Foreign Ministry Information Department, Zafar Saidov, told Interfax that Ajello will meet Tajik President Emomali Rakhmanov to discuss settling the internal conflict in the republic. The two sides will hold political consultations on issues concerning the fourth round of talks with the opposition, he remarked.

Ajello is expected to hold consultations with high-ranking representatives of the opposition Tajik Islamic Revival Movement in Islamabad on March 2 to 4.

Situation Better on Border After Afghan Accord

LD0103114095 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0500 GMT 1 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the signing of the agreement on cooperation between the Russian Federation's border guards in Kalai Khumb and Ishan Borhanoddin, governor of Darvaz province [as heard] in Afghanistan, and Lieutenant Colonel Mehrojeddin, the commissar of the border guards of Darvaz province and the commander of the 77th battalion of border guards stationed in this area, the situation is improving in this part of the border. As we reported earlier, according to this agreement the Afghan brothers are obliged to expel armed groups belonging to the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan who are on their territory from their border. They are also obliged to keep their territory, from the village of Mohi Nau to the village of Jomarjiyi Bolo, covering 60 km in all, free from armed opposition groups. The Afghan brothers agreed to cooperate with the border guards of the Russian Federation and Tajikistan to crush the armed opposition groups if they use the province of Darvaz to carry out sabotage and armed operations against the Republic of Tajikistan. In particular they have permitted Russian and Tajik border guards to open fire on the bases of the armed groups of opposition in the territory of the province and the Afghan side will accept responsibility for this.

Reportage on Parliamentary Elections

High Turnout Ensures Validity

MM0103102595 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts: "Tajikistan: Elections Valid "]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to preliminary returns, more than 85 percent of voters took part in the elections to the republic's new parliament (National Assembly).

Central Electoral Commission Chairman Kholmurod Sharipov reported this 27 February. Such a high level of activity is frankly staggering. It is already clear that the elections to the new National Assembly [verkhovnyy sovet] and local assemblies were valid (according to the law it is necessary for 50 percent of voters plus one to participate).

A special feature of the current elections was the fact that elections have taken place on a multiparty basis for the first time in Tajikistan. A third of candidates (out of the 354 registered) were nominated from political parties and more than a third from labor collectives. In all 181 deputies will be elected to parliament. The final results will become known in a short time.

The following fact is also interesting. As we know, on the eve of the elections the National Unity Party (whose

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leader is former Tajik Ambassador to Russia Abdulmalik Abdulladzhanov) stated that it was boycotting the elections and would not recognize the results. But in the very region where there are very many supporters of "his" party, a record number—90 percent—voted (did he bring in his own people here?). The percentage was also very high in Gornyy Badakhshan, at 85 percent. The lowest level of activity in the elections was demonstrated by voters in the capital.

So the elections were valid. Opponents of the present authorities can, of course, dispute the results or not recognize them at all. But new state power structures are already in existence. It is difficult to object to this.

But the most important thing is the position the new parliament will adopt in relation to the policy President Emomali Rakhmonov is currently pursuing. Judging by the preliminary results of the voting, the authorities have no reason to fear any particular "surprises."

Elections Used 'Undemocratic Methods'

LD2802144795 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The preliminary results of the elections to the communist parliament of the country held by the Dushanbe regime have been made public. According to official information, the runoff election will be held in only seven constituencies.

According to influential international organizations, the parliamentary elections in Tajikistan, as have other political activities of the regime, have been held by using undemocratic methods.

It has been reported that the people did not go to the polling stations at all in the areas controlled by the opposition. The elections were held under the threat of arms and in an unhappy atmosphere in most areas controlled by the government forces.

According to commentators, the only difference between this parliament from the former one is in its name—that means the Supreme Assembly instead of the Supreme Soviet.

Election Results Viewed

LD2802173495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Elections to the parliament and local bodies were held in 161 of 181 Tajikistan's electoral districts. At a press conference Tuesday chairman of the Central elections commission on elections and referendums Kholmurod Sharipov reported that 2,274,632 of 2,664,578 citizens of Tajikistan who have the right to vote participated in the elections on February 26.

According to Sharipov, repeated voting will be held in 20 districts where candidates failed to collect necessary number of votes, that is 50.1 percent of the number of electors.

As Sharipov said, "for the first time elections in the republic were held on a multiparty and alternative basis under the situation of freedom and democracy."

In his words, only 9 people who worked in the old Supreme Soviet entered composition of the new parliament. (However, a well informed source in Dushanbe reported to Interfax that there are 25 such deputies). Sharipov indicated that Tajikistan's all four political parties are represented in the parliament: the Party of Popular Unity—2 deputies, the Popular Party—5, the communist party—3, and the Party of Economic and Political Renewal—1. (According to Interfax, the faction from the communist party which nominated 26 candidates will total not less than 10 people, not a single candidate was nominated from the Party of Economic and Political Renewal, even its chairman was proposed as a candidate from a working staff).

Sharipov said that 11 people, professional lawyers, have been elected to the republic's supreme legislative body (it is slightly more than 5 percent of the total number of deputies).

Interfax has learned that more than 80% of members of the new parliament are Tajiks, 16 percent—Uzbeks, and about 4 percent—Russians, Koreans, Kyrgyzs, and representatives of other nationalities living in Tajikistan.

Sharipov also reported that independent international supervisors did not register any violations in the course of the elections.

Spokesman of Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry Zafar Saidov reported to Interfax that 27 supervisors from eight countries, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, India, Afghanistan, Iran, and the United States, participated in the parliamentary elections, "the Americans played the role of unofficial supervisors."

At the same time he underlined that "Dushanbe intends to continue its cooperation with the OSCE" and reminded that many recommendations of international organizations, including the UN and OSCE, were taken into consideration during preparation of the decree on elections.

Saidov believes that "legitimacy and democracy of the voting reconfirms the fact that many members of the opposition have become deputies, whereas several candidates representing the president's supporters did not enter the parliament."

In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan the first sitting of the parliament is to be held in a month after the elections, that is before the end of March.

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News Conference Held on Outcome

LD2802130695 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A news conference was held at the republic's government building today on the results of the elections of people's deputies to the Supreme Assembly and local assemblies which took place on 26 February. Our correspondent Amirkhan Shahkam has prepared a report on the news conference, which you will now hear:

[Shahkam] Representatives of the Central Election Commission and international observers who participated in the election process took part in the news conference. Members of the domestic and foreign media were invited. Zafar Saidov, head of the information department of the republic's Foreign Ministry, opened the news conference. Kholmurod Sharipov, chairman of the Central Election Commission on elections and referendums, reported on the results of the election as follows:

[Sharipov] On Sunday, 26 February this year, elections to the Supreme Assembly and regional, town and district assemblies were held in the Republic of Tajikistan.

Following the nationwide referendum on the constitution and the presidential elections held on 6 November last year, this campaign was an important political event in our Tajikistan.

First I want to draw your attention to the results of the elections to the Supreme Assembly.

According to the preliminary reports 2,274,632 voters participated in the elections out of the 2,664,678 registered voters on the electoral roll.

Candidates were elected in 161 of the 181 Supreme Assembly constituencies in the first round. A second round of elections is to be held in the remaining constituencies.

So we can state today that the elections to the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan were valid. The elections to the local authorities in every region, town and districts of the republic were valid.

It can be said that voters participated actively in this important campaign in all regions including Badakhshan, Khatlon and Vakhsh as well as Leninabad Region and the Hissar and Karategin valleys. For example, 90 percent of the electorate in Leninabad region, 90 percent in Khatlon region, 90 percent in Badakhshan region, up to 80 or 90 or 95 percent in some mountainous districts, and in one district even 100 percent of the voters came to the polling stations, despite the fact that elections were held in severe winter conditions and under deprivation and distress.

According to the reports we have received, the requirements of the constitution and the law on elections were by and large met in the 26th February elections. This is the proof that popular democracy is gradually consolidating its position in Tajikistan and that the foreign media statements and recriminations about the laws being undemocratic and the registration of candidates being incorrect have no reliable foundation.

I must make special note of the fact that for the first time in the history of Tajikistan, elections were held on a multiparty basis, and favorable conditions were created for this.

I must say with a sense of satisfaction that observers from many countries, including Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as well as India, Afghanistan, Iran and the United States, 27 people in all, participated in the elections. We hope they will tell you about their impressions.

[Correspondent] The international observers who observed the election process also expressed their views. The representatives of the Central Election Commission for elections and referendums and the international observers answered the many questions put to them by journalists.

Repeat Elections Scheduled for 12 Mar

LD2802141995 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1407 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The elections of people's deputies to the Supreme Assembly were valid. This was stated today by Kholmurod Sharipov, chairman of the central electoral commission on elections and referendums of the Republic of Tajikistan, at a news conference held in Dushanbe. Our correspondent has the details.

[Correspondent] Zafar Saidov, head of the department of information of the republic's Foreign Ministry, opened the news conference. He introduced the guests, that is the members of the delegations of observers from the near and far abroad, and described the theme of the press conference and its length, and then he gave the floor to Kholmurod Sharipov. [passage omitted]

Answering questions from journalists, Kholmurod Sharipov described the ethnic composition of the parliament elected on 26 February, and party representatives in it. The representatives of four parties were nominated in the elections. Three members of parliament were elected from the Communist Party of Tajikistan and two from the Party of People's Unity and Accord. And the other two parties are represented by a small number: the People's Party and the party of entrepreneurs, although 11 entrepreneurs were elected deputies to the new Parliament.of Agriculture and Food of Ukraine L. Zinevich, and Minister of Agriculture of Crimea A. Drobotov met with the journalists.

There are five women in the Supreme Assembly, two more than in the Supreme Council. Nine deputies of the Supreme Council were elected to the Supreme Assembly.

Tajiks form the majority ethnic group in parliament, then come Uzbeks and Russians. There are representatives of other nationalities.

This is the incomplete, preliminary information for today. On 12 March repeat elections will be held in 20 constituencies. After the repeat elections we shall expect the first sitting of the first session of the Supreme Assembly.

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Armenia

Liparityan Reports on Turkey's Armenian 'Position'

NC2802194395 Yerevan ARAGIL ELECTRONIC NEWS BULLETIN in English 0941 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan ("AZG", "LRAGIR" dailies), 02/28/95—As we have already reported, Councillor General of RA [Republic of Armenia] President and his Special Envoy Zhirayr Liparityan participated in the "Security, stability, prosperity, and independence in Northern Caucasus" conference held in Turkey on February 23-24. He held a press conference yesterday, reporting about the results of the visit.

Mr. Liparityan said that the conference was a good chance to carry out bilateral meetings concerning the Karabakh conflict. He met Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, Foreign Minister Murad Karayalcin, former Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and others, discussing problems of mutual relations. He said that Armenia would like to have friendly relations with all the neighbors, without any preconditions. Turkey has the same position, but as a rule, when the matter concerns Armenia, it has been setting several preconditions.

According to Mr. Liparityan, several changes have been made in Turkey's stance during the recent conference. That is, development of Turkish-Armenian relations is in no way related with final resolution of the Karabakh conflict, or with withdrawal of the Armenian troops, though it is expected that the Armenian side is to agree with Turkish participation in resolution of the Karabakh conflict. Liparityan said that the position of Armenia in this regard is the same: good neighborly relations without any preconditions. At the same time, leaders of Mountainous Karabakh declared several times they would not tolerate participation of Turkey in the peace process. Any country may send disengagement forces to the conflict zone, with the agreement of all sides. Therefore, even if Armenia agrees to Turkish participation, nothing would change.

Concerning establishing political relations between Armenia and Turkey, Liparitian believes that Turkey still relates this to withdrawal of the Armenian troops, though its policy in Caucasus is influenced by numerous other factors.

The President's Envoy also said that some tension exists in relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan today. Particularly, Turkey is interested in softening its relations with Armenia, which, according to Azeri representative, would mean "selling Azerbaijan". Azeri representative Vafa Guluzade declared he is against Ankara-Yerevan rapprochement until the troops are withdrawn. Mr. Guluzade instantly promised to increase Turkish shares in the oil "contract of the century."

Conference 'Softened' Relations

LD2802172395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] YEREVAN, Feb 28 (Interfax)—The Armenian president's top aide, Zhirair Liparityan, believes that in Turkey's approach to the problems of the Karabakh conflict and to bilateral relations "there are certain changes indicating that its position has softened."

"Ankara now does not link the development of the Armenian-Turkish relations with the final settlement of the Karabakh problem or with the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the occupied territories," he said. Liparityan was commenting on meetings between representatives of the two countries within the framework of an international conference in Ankara on security, stability, prosperity and independence.

At the same time, Liparityan said that he was not speaking about the establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey, which are still linked by Ankara with the withdrawal of Armenian troops from the Azeri territories, "though Turkish policies in the Caucasus also depend on many other factors."

Liparityan said in this respect that Armenia's position remains intact. "Yerevan is prepared to establish neighborly relations, but without any preliminary conditions," he said.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev: Cease-Fire Regime in Karabakh Must Be Preserved

LD2802193795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1847 GMT 28 Feb 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdulayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku February 28 TASS—"Even if we fail to agree on Karabakh settlement with Armenia in the immediate future, the Azeri side will not violate the cease-fire regime that has been on for nine months in the conflict zone," Azeri President Heydar Aliyev told a U.S. representative of the OSCE [Organization of Security and Confidence in Europe] Minsk Group for Nagorno- Karabakh tonight.

The president hopes that his proposal will be supported by the Armenian side.

In the opinion of Heydar Aliyev, the path towards peace goes through liberation of the occupied lands, restoration of Azeri territorial integrity and inviolability of borders and provision of rights and security guarantees

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for Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh. He thinks that this can be done with negotiations within the framework of the OSCE Minsk Group.

The president admitted that liberation of Shusha and Lachin, Azeri regional centers located between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, remains the stumbling stone of negotiations.

Minister Receives U.S. Representative; Discuss Conflict

NC2802203095 Baku TURAN in English 1238 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 28) TURAN—Today Azeri Foreign Minister, Hasan Hasanov, received the American representative of the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Minsk Group, the Chief of the U.S. Department of State for the CIS countries and newly independent states, Joe Pressel.

"Now it is a beautiful time to achieve the great progress on the talks about the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict", Mr. Pressel began his speech. Addressing to the opinion that the truce is used ineffectively, he said that the U.S. cannot deal with this issue alone.

Addressing to the establishment of the post of the co-Chairman of the OSCE Minsk Group, he said that this fact exerted positive influence on Russia's position. He thinks that one must not delay the working out of the final resolution on the political settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. "The cease-fire regime is still fragile," Mr. Pressel mentioned. He stands for the direct talks between Azerbaijan and Armenian, without any mediators.

Mr. Pressel said that from Baku he will leave for Yerevan and from there to Washington. The results of the visit will be reflected in his report to the U.S. Government, which will contain the proposals to the conflict settlement.

"The report will be good if you will and your Armenian colleague Papazian will be irritated," Mr. Pressel said.

Hasan Hasanov severely criticised such approach. "The proposal, which will irritate both parties can be forwarded with the purpose not to work out the concrete resolution. This is the method of Kremlin, Moscow, Gorbachev and this method failed," Hasan Hasanov said. The proposals must not be based on the facts suiting neither Armenia nor Azerbaijan, they must be based on the international principles, on the principles of the OSCE, UN, and famous resolutions of the UN, Azeri Foreign Minister said.

"If Armenia is ready to conduct direct negotiations with us, this is a great step forward, since Yerevan announces that it is Nagorno- Karabakh that fights with Azerbaijan," Hasan Hasanov says.

Hasan Hasanov said that he wishes to know the positions of the U.S. to the Major Political Agreement, Shusha and Lachin, since these issues are the main obstacles on the way to achievement of the political agreement.

Hasan Hasanov said that Vladimir Kazimirov and Anders Bjorner proposed their formula on Shusha and Lachin, Azerbaijan accepted it making the amendment: Kazimirov and Bjorner offered liberation of Shusha and Lachin after conclusion of Major Political Agreement, while we proposed settlement of this issue within the framework of the Major Political Agreement. The formula is based on the following principles: maintenance of Azerbaijan's sovereignty, refugees' home-coming and ensurance of safe traffic. With this formula we are ready to come to the Minsk Conference to settle the issue concerning the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Azeri Foreign Minister mentioned.

Joey Pressel said that he is interested in the position of Baku towards the issue on Shusha and Lachin. As far as the U.S. position to this issue is concerned, Mr. Pressel gave to understand that he wishes to continue the conversation without the press. Then the meeting continued behind the closed doors.

Foreign Ministry Makes Statement on Anniversary of War

NC2802161995 Baku TURAN in English 1620 GMT 27 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 27) TURAN—"The 7th anniversary of the non-proclaimed by Armenia war against the Azerbaijan Republic will take place on the coming day," reads the statement of the Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry issued today in Baku.

"The main reason of war became the territorial claims by Armenia for the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. Illegal decision of Nagorno-Karbakh's Executive power of 1988 on leaving Azerbaijan and its entering the Armenian Republic, Act of the Armenia's Supreme Council of December 1989 on joining Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia and the resolution of the Armenian Parliament of July 1992 on non-recognition of any acts in which Nagorno-Karabakh was indicated as entering the Azerbaijan Republic witnesses that Armenia bears responsibility as the organiser and the executor of the aggression against Azerbaijan," reads that document.

Over the seven years the armed forces of Armenia killed in Azerbaijan ten of thousands of people, burnt hundreds of the populated areas, the objects of culture and architecture, occupied 20 percent of the territories of the Republic, notes the statement. In the result the Azerbaijan had suffered several billion dollars. The most terrific crime was the tragedy in Khojali when the Armenian troops had killed approximately 800 men. Even now about 4,000 Azerbaijanis among which there 62 children are imprisoned in Armenia.

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Noting the unwillingness of Yerevan to obtain the just peace in the region Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry consider that "Armenia uses negotiation process in order to save a time for the expansion into the territory of Azerbaijan." Carrying out its expansionist policy Armenia continues to settle by the Armenians on the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, reads the statement.

Such actions of Armenia are the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and witnesses ignoring the norms of the international law and Charter of the UN as well as principles of the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe]. These actions prevent the peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict," reads the statement.

Party Leader on Russia, Chechnya, Independence

AU2802201895 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 21 Feb 95 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Iskander Gamidov, deputy of Azerbaijan Supreme Council and leader of the "Boz Gurd" ("Gray Wolves") Party, by Mariya Bazelyuk in Baku; date not given: "The Worst Thing Is When Slaves Are Content With Their Fate"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Lieutenant General Iskander Gamidov, deputy of the Azerbaijan Supreme Council and leader of the "Gray Wolves" Party, has gained much prestige and is widely known not only in his own, but also in neighboring countries, as a staunch fighter for the establishment of independent states in the Caucasus. During Abulfaz Elchibey's presidency, he was Azerbaijan's minister of internal affairs. The "Gray Wolves" Party supports the national liberation struggle of the Chechen people, organizes and delivers humanitarian and medical assistance to Chechnya, and disseminates reliable information on the genocide of the Chechen people waged by Moscow. Iskander Gamidov, a person of great courage and integrity and a personal friend of Dzhokhar Dudayev, has taken upon himself the lion's share of this dedicated work, which often involves risk. It is owing to his efforts that the trips by a Ukrainian delegation across the Caucasus, in particular to Chechnya, were a success.

A ZA VILNU UKRAYINU correspondent met with Iskander Gamidov in Baku.

[Bazelyuk] Iskander-bey [polite form of address], what does the word "freedom" signify to you as a person, who has come to symbolize a love of freedom in the Caucasus?

[Gamidov] I have inherited my aspiration to freedom from my forefathers. For me, there is no freedom for the individual without freedom of the nation. I am ready to pay with my own life for the independence of Azerbaijan, but the independence of Chechnya, Ukraine, or Georgia is no less valuable for me. One's attitude regarding the freedom of nations is a criterion for judging a person's merits.

[Bazelyuk] This was perhaps what led you, back in the times of the Soviet Union, to put a high-ranking Moscow official in his place. The people considered your action heroic.

[Gamidov] With regard to that official, he was not simply high-ranking, but very high-ranking. It was in January 1990, after Russian troops were brought into Baku and the blood of hundreds of people was spilled. I conducted a meeting with the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs staff and called upon the participants to adopt a resolution on Azerbaijan withdrawing from the Union. Suddenly, former USSR Interior Minister Bakatin walked in surrounded with Spetsnaz officers and decided, for some reason, to shake hands with each of us. When he came up to me, I said: "Your hands are covered with my people's blood. You are a scoundrel." It was a normal reaction on the part of an honest person to the Moscow terror, but at that time it was perceived as a courageous deed. Yet another case. Russian special troops stopped our automobile and started checking it. We were ordered to kneel. I answered: "You can kill me, but bringing me to my knees—never!" That was also a normal action. As you see, there was no special heroism.

[Bazelyuk] Well, the empire had killed the peoples' sense of personal dignity to such an extent that those who still maintained it were looked upon as heroes.

[Gamidov] The same system has taught us how to resist it. As an officer, I had to be at least head and shoulders above Russian officers in order to be promoted in my service; I also had to be twice as educated and twice as strong. That is why the system, while humiliating us, as vassals, instilled in us a feeling of personal dignity and hatred for the system.

[Passage omitted]

Today, there is no stability in Azerbaijan. This is a lull before the storm and awareness on the part of both the opposition and the current regime that Azerbaijan's independence is in our own hands. Abrupt deviations to the right or left may bring Russian troops here in the guise of peacekeeping forces. All the more so since Moscow raised the question at Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe session, suggesting that Russia alone must be a peacekeeper in Karabakh. You and I know from personal experience that Russia and peacekeeping are entirely different notions. Wherever the Russian soldier steps, there is bloodshed, killing, and suppression of one nation by another. That is why a temporary lull in Azerbaijan cannot be regarded as political stability, because a pro-communist regime still prevails in our country.

[Bazelyuk] Does Gaydar Aliyev want an independent Azerbaijan?

[Gamidov] Yes, he does! Despite everything negative about Aliyev, his commendable qualities lie in the fact that he wants to maintain Azerbaijani independence.

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For us, this is the main thing. Today, Gaydar Aliyev suits us because he refuses to allow Russian troops in to "guard" Azerbaijan's external borders and does not allow the establishment of Russian military bases on our territory. In other words, he is in favor of state independence as demanded by the people.

[Bazelyuk] Can one speak of a structurization of Azerbaijani society or about the influence of parties upon it?

[Gamidov] It is still premature to talk of a structurization, since proponents of the pro-communist regime in Azerbaijan consider anyone who thinks differently an "enemy of the people." Such powerful political parties as "Musavat," the People's Front of Azerbaijan, the "Gray Wolves," or the National Liberation Party of Azerbaijan do not have any particular influence on government policy yet. Rallies and picketing are the only accessible methods of pressure. We must be vigilant lest Russia, through the hands of the Azerbaijani people, start trouble in our state, as it always does, and then brings in its troops.

[Bazelyuk] What role does the "Gray Wolves" Party play in politics?

[Gamidov] The "Gray Wolves" is an organization of international scope, but in Azerbaijan it is a party. Some people believe that the organization was first created in Turkey in the 1980's. [passage omitted] It is essentially a nationalist party. Its two main principles are state independence and territorial integrity for Azerbaijan. Everyone of us is ready to go to war, fight, and die for these ideals.

[Bazelyuk] How do you assess the present situation in the Caucasus?

[Gamidov] The 300 years that the Caucasus was under the Russian yoke have left their trace on the people's consciousness. Even today, some people ask themselves first: "What does Moscow think of this or that?" However, the stupidity of the Russian leaders and their ignorance as to the character of Caucasian nations have led to a situation where the Caucasus has risen. Chechnya is only a part of the Caucasus that fights for its freedom, just the first spark. Moscow does not want to realize this. Recall what Yeltsin said: "The Chechen knot must be cut." Mind you, "cut" and not "untied." This means bloodshed and death. We strive to build our Caucasian home without Russian domination, but Moscow, thus far, has skillfully hampered this process. However, how much longer will it be able to do so? The worst thing is when slaves are content with their fate. The Caucasus is now awakening. The Russian leadership's reckless policy with regard to Chechnya has accelerated this process.

[Bazelyuk] I know that you help Chechnya in every possible way. This nation and its freedom mean a lot to you?

[Gamidov] You know, when the Crimean issue suddenly "emerged" in Ukraine, our "Gray Wolves" Party was the only one that openly stated that there is no Crimean issue, but there is the issue of Russia, which wants to turn the Crimea into another Karabakh. One may like or dislike a certain nation, but the idea of state independence must be respected, no matter what kind of nation it is. Unfortunately, today, it is nationalists alone who take the idea of people's independence seriously. At the same time, there are also people who do not accept the idea of Chechen independence or of their own independence. If one desires freedom for his own people, he cannot help wishing it to others.

I know many Chechens, and Dzhokhar Dudayev is my friend. Our party helped, helps, and will help Chechnya. We do not conceal this. This is what our dignity and national consciousness tell us.

[Bazelyuk] Thank you for the interview. I wish you every success on the path you have chosen—the path toward the freedom of nations.

SOCAR To Start Geophysical Project in Caspian Sea in Mar

NC2802165095 Baku TURAN in English 0911 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (February 28) TURAN—Iran paid the debt totalling $412,000 to SOCAR for the seismologic works of the Azeri geophysicians in the Irani section of the Caspian Sea under the contract of 1992, the Director of "Azergeophysics" Union in SOCAR, Davud Babayev, told TURAN. He also said that under another contract concluded between SOCAR and Iran's National Oil company (INOC) in 1994, the INOC opened the account with Azerbaijan's International Bank.

Babayev says that the implementation of the contract providing for the geophysical research works in the Irani section of the Caspian Sea totalling $2.3 million is due to be started in the middle of March.

Georgia

Israeli Delegation Arrives for 3-Day Visit

LD2802211895 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi—A delegation from Israel, which includes Ya'aqob Lapidot, the director general of the Ministry of Police of Israel [name and title as received]; (Yousuff Khertsel), the head of a department at the ministry; and (Aaron Talia), a member of Israel's mission in Moscow, arrived yesterday in Tbilisi. The aim of the delegation's visit is to meet their Georgian colleagues and discuss prospects for further cooperation in the sphere of protecting law and order.

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The delegation is to meet the Georgian interior minister and the head of the Tbilisi Police Directorate. The delegation will also meet Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze and Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia. The visit will last three days.

Shevardnadze Refutes Ajarian Leader's Allegations

LD2802232695 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi— In his regular radio interview today, Head of the Georgian State Eduard Shevardnadze commented on accusations made by Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Council of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria, against State Security Service head Igor Giorgadze. Shevardnadze, in particular, stressed that it is absurd to think that planned terrorist acts are being currently perpetrated in Georgia. The head of state noted that people in Ajaria and Abashidze himself can calm down as there are no grounds for alarm. He concluded by saying that a hostile attitude to Ajaria, as well as other regions of Georgia, is tantamount to hostility to the whole of Georgia.

54,000 Abkhazian Refugees in CIS, 5,000 in Israel

AU2802143995 Tbilisi KAVKASIONI in Georgian 21 Feb 95 p 1

[IBERIA report: "Via the CIS to Israel"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have been informed from the Russian Federation Migration Service that there are now 54,000 refugees and displaced persons from the region of Abkhazia living on the territory of the CIS.

According to figures provided by the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic Council of Ministers, there are 5,000 refugees and displaced persons from Abkhazia working in Israel on a contract basis.

Abkhazia Blamed for Delaying Refugee Problem

LD2802213395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 28 Feb 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Leader of the Georgian delegation to the Georgian-Abkhazian talks, Jaba Ioseliani, told journalists in Tbilisi that if no cardinal changes occur before May 15 in the problem of returning refugees to Abkhazia, the Russian peacekeepers will be removed from the conflict zone.

He said that "the Abkhazian side is delaying the solution of the refugee problem, hoping that considerable changes will occur in the Russian leadership in spring and that the forces which have been supporting the separatists will come to power."

Meanwhile, Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba told reporters in Sochi (the Krasnodar Territory), commenting on the Georgian-Abkhazian talks, that "Abkhazia is ready for compromises, which cannot be said about the Georgian leaders who have not given up plans for settling relations with Abkhazia by force."

He said that the return of the Georgian refugees must go parallel to political settlement. He reminded the TV audience, however, that among the refugees there are thousands of non-Georgians—Armenians, Russians, Abkhazians and Greeks—whose return is not discussed either by Russia, or by Georgia, or by international organizations.

IF note: To date, just over 300 refugees have officially returned to Abkhazia. According to Abkhazian sources, about 40,000, and according to the UN Commissioner for Refugees—25,000-30,000 refugees have returned to Abkhazia unofficially.

The parliament of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, consisting of Georgian deputies of the Abkhaz parliament and operating in Tbilisi, proclaimed its adherence to the Georgian authorities' efforts to find a political settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and broaden friendly contacts with Russia.

On Tuesday, it circulated a statement in response to the interview granted to the independent Russian TV company NTV by leader of the radical Union for the Liberation of Abkhazia Boris Kakubava, who threatened to "begin combat operations and stage terrorist acts against the Russian troops located in Georgia and organize an all-Caucasian movement to oust Russian troops from the Caucasus."

Kakubava is a member of the pro-Georgian Abkhazian parliament and a deputy of the Georgian parliament.

Ardzinba Makes Government Changes

AU2802143495 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian 23-24 Feb 95 p 1

[Report by Tengiz Pachkoria "especially for REZONANSI": "The Formation of the Separatists' Government Is Continuing"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As is known, during the last month, Ardzinba [Abkhazian leader] has reduced the composition of the Abkhazian government and the number of ministries by 50 percent and replaced every second minister. To all intents and purposes, the separatists have already completed the formation of the new government.

According to Abkhazian radio, on 20 February, Ardzinba signed an edict to appoint Sergey Baghapsh first vice premier of the government of the "republic of Abkhazia."

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Yuriy Voronov, well known to everyone as the head of the so- called "Sukhumi Society of Internationalists" and a person devoted to "Aidgilara" [Abkhazian People's Forum] and separatism, has been appointed vice premier. He is a doctor of historical sciences and an architect by profession. During the last few years, Yu. Voronov has published a number of anti-Georgian articles, pamphlets, and books in which a distorted picture is given of Georgian and specifically Abkhazian history and Georgian-Abkhazian relations. Yu. Voronov was and remains in the leading circles of the separatists.

According to this edict, Vladimer Mikanba, who from the 1970s until now has occupied various responsible positions in party and state bodies, has also been confirmed as a vice premier of the government of the "republic of Abkhazia."

During the last two years (1993-94), Mikanba has been viewed as the number two in the separatists' leadership behind Ardzinba. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the separatists' mass media has highlighted many facts about how former fighters in the Abkhazian armed formations have been robbing, killing, and kidnapping people and stealing property.

It is practically impossible today in Abkhazia to capture and bring the criminals to trial: Almost every fighter has a "patron" who mentions to the law enforcement bodies the fighter's previous accomplishments, blood ties, and so forth.

The Abkhazian militia has become powerless in the struggle against criminal elements.

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